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ABSTRACT

The essentially descriptive study of these two racially and culturally distinct populations started with Robert E. Park's conception of social distance as the degree of understanding and intimacy which characterizes personal and social relations. The social distance phenomenon was broken down into three levels of analysis: perceived socio-economic status, attitudes of perference for association, and frequency and intimacy of interaction between members of groups. Based on historical background and contemporary intergroup relations theory, six hypotheses were presented to be tested. Two probability samples of twenty-five respondents each were selected. Similar interviews employing both attitude measurement techniques based on the conceptualization of social distance and questions requiring more qualitative responses were administered. Participant observations were also compiled. Although statistical associations were somewhat low, the results generally indicated that among the whites sampled racial characteristics (visible physical differences) were the most salient cues to social distance attitudes expressed. Frequency and intimacy of contact were most highly associated with Indian social distance attitudes. These findings led to a discussion of cultural and socio-economic factors which differentiate the white and Indian populations studied. The conclusion was that relations between whites and Indians are stalemated at a stage of accommodation in terms of Park's race relations cycle. (Author)

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# SOCIAL DISTANCE AND RACE ATTITUDES: A STUDY OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF PRINCETON, MAINE AND THE INDIAN POPULATION OF INDIAN TOWNSHIP, MAINE

by

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A THESIS

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Date

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While all those aforementioned provided valuable assistance, I accept full responsibility for the methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation in this report.

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# CHAPTER I

## BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

### 1. The Problem: Contemporary Indian-White Relations

There is scarcely a major issue of policy in the United States that has not been involved in the relationships of Indians and whites. Questions of universal citizenship and franchise; of land use and conservation; of the 'melting pot' versus pluralism; of prejudice, discrimination, and segregation; of colonialism; of separation of church and state; of private property and communal property; and of the extent and nature of government responsibility for education--to mention several basic issues--have all involved policy questions concerning Indians.[1]

Rather little documentation is needed to support the contention that there is a need to better understand the relations between Indian and white Americans. If anything, the amount of potential interaction between Amerinds and whites will increase simply on the basis of an American Indian birth rate two times greater than the American population as a whole.[2] Indians are by no means a dying race;

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[1] George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 311 (May 1957), p. vii.

[2] "The Indian birth rate is high. In 1959 there were 41.4 Indian live births for each 1,000 of the population for the twenty-four federal reservation states, which is almost twice the rate of the country as a whole (24.1); and the 41.4 may be too low because many Indians view the birth or death of a child as a personal matter which needs no reporting." (William A. Brophy, Sophie D. Aberle, et al., The Indian: America's Unfinished Business, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966, p. 162.) In 1930 the total number of Indians in the United States was listed

nor are they, for the most part, possessors of dying cultures. The reservation system has, for the foreseeable future, guaranteed the latter fact. American Indians socialized in their unique sub-cultures and white Americans socialized in the culture of the majority group will inevitably engage in inter-group relations for many years to come. In the context of the reservation living of most American Indians, Blumer comments on the knowledge we now have of Indian-white relations.

> This removal of Indians from direct participation in the life of the surrounding white society has imparted a distinctive character to the kind of studies made of native Indian groups. Such studies have been predominantly in the form of ethnological monographs on separate Indian tribes. While much attention has been given to the incorporation of white cultural traits into native cultures this anthropological literature largely ignores any treatment of the association of Indians with whites. Until very recently, the problem of incorporating Indians into the surrounding white society was meaningless; there is, therefore, a paucity of literature on the relations implied by this latter type of association.[3]

Given this state of affairs, research on a specific case of Indian-white relations was deemed relevant and of potential value. With these factors in mind the goals of this study are:

1. To test empirically hypotheses formulated from

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at 332,397. In 1960 it was 508,675. This represents a 53.0% increase, while the increase for the United States as a whole for that period was 110,286,740 to 158,454,956, or 43.7%. (U.S. Census: 1960, General Characteristics of the Population, Washington, D.C.: 1961, pp. 1-145.)

[3]Herbert Blumer, "United States of America," Research on Racial Relations (Parish: UNESCO, 1966), p. 88.

an existing body of inter-group relations theory and research.

2. To describe and explore a particular case of racial-ethnic relations--the relations between the predominantly white population of Princeton and the predominantly Indian population of Indian Township, Maine.

## 2. The Focal Point of the Research--Social Distance

Robert E. Park explained his conception of the term social distance in 1924.

> The concept of 'distance' as applied to human, as distinct from spacial relations, has come into use among sociologists, in an attempt to reduce to something like measurable terms the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize personal and social relations generally. . . . The point is that we are clearly conscious, in all our personal relationships, of degree of intimacy. . . . The terms 'race consciousness' and 'class consciousness', with which most of us are familiar, describe a state of mind in which we become, often suddenly and unexpectedly conscious of the distances that separate us from classes and races whom we do not fully understand.[4]

Throughout this study the term social distance refers to the degree of understanding and intimacy which characterizespersonal and social relations. The utility of the concept of social distance as used in this research

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[4]Robert E. Park, "The Concept of Social Distance," Journal of Applied Sociology, VIII (July-August, 1924), 339-340.

is based on two qualities. (1) It may be treated as a continuum along which one can relate degrees of the social distance phenomenon. "The value of the concept of social distance . . . lies in the way in which it enables the research worker to evaluate the extent of discrimination and to conceptualize it as a continuum."[5] (2) It can be segmented for detailed analysis. Realizing that the degree of social distance (intimacy and understanding) may be a product of different and, perhaps, conflicting components, it would seem fruitful to analyze the various factors which contribute to the distance independently and try to devise scales for each of them.

Taking these two factors into consideration, social distance in this study is broken down into three levels of analysis:

a. Perceived socio-economic status

b. Attitudes of preference for association

c. Contact (frequency and intimacy of interaction between members of groups)[6]

These three analytical levels are taken to be the significant components of social distance. Measuring tools to quantify

---

[5]Michael Banton, Race Relations (New York: Basic Books, 1967), p. 315.

[6]Measuring tools (a) and (b) were developed in Jitsuichi, Masuoka, "Race Attitudes of the Japanese People in Hawaii," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Hawaii, 1931). Tools (a) and (b) were appropriated from Masuoka, with (c) being first used as an index of social distance, in Frederick Samuels, "The Effect of Social Mobility on Social Distance: Some Changes in the Race Attitudes of Honolulu's Japanese," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Hawaii, 1963).

each of these three levels of distance exhibited in a population are designed to be compared and ultimately consolidated into a total indication of social distance.

The theoretical origins for this analytical division are found in Bernard Kramer's three orientations of prejudice.[7] In an admittedly general way these orientations (cognitive, emotional, and action) correspond to the levels of social distance analyzed and interpreted in the study.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masuoka, '31; Samuels, '63 | Perceived SES | Cognitive | Kramer, '49 |
| | Preference for Association | Emotional | |
| | Contact | Action | |

Hubert M. Blalock, in a recent book entitled Toward A Theory of Minority-Group Relations, adds further support for this analytical configuration in an appendix "On Race versus Class Prejudice".

> In summary, I have in effect divided total prejudice into three components. The respondent's total prejudice score (as measured by social distance towards Negroes) may be high for any combination of three reasons: (1) he perceives Negroes to have very low status, (2) he strongly prefers whites to Negroes of comparable general status, or (3) he tends generally to reject persons with lower status than his own.[8]

Operational definitions for the three components of social distance employed in this study will be explained in Chapter Four on Methodology and Chapter Five on the Research Findings.

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[7] Bernard M. Kramer, "Dimensions of Prejudice," Journal of Psychology, XXVII (August, 1949), 389-451.

[8] Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations (New York: Wiley, 1967), p. 203.

### 3. The Setting

In Washington County, Maine lies the easternmost point of land in the United States. The county is large--2,628 square miles--making it as big as Delaware and Rhode Island combined. The natural environment is best characterized by noting that 85 percent of the county's surface is woodland, 8 percent lakes, 4 percent bogs and swamps, and 3 percent cropland and pasture. Within this overwhelmingly rural area live 32,908 people residing in 44 towns and two cities, the largest of which is Calais on the St. Croix River (pop. 4,100).[9]

Twenty miles north of Calais on Route 1, the major highway connecting the County's greatest concentrations of people, lies the town of Princeton. The country surrounding Princeton is rural woodlands with the town itself directly adjacent to the St. Croix River system on the juncture of Lewey Lake and the basin feeding the St. Croix. Upon crossing the head of the basin on a short cement bridge one enters Indian Township, the home of a portion of the Passamaquoddy Tribe of Indians. (See Map 1)

The combined total of the populations of Princeton and Indian Township is 1,050. The entire population of Princeton (829) is white.[10] Although there is a small

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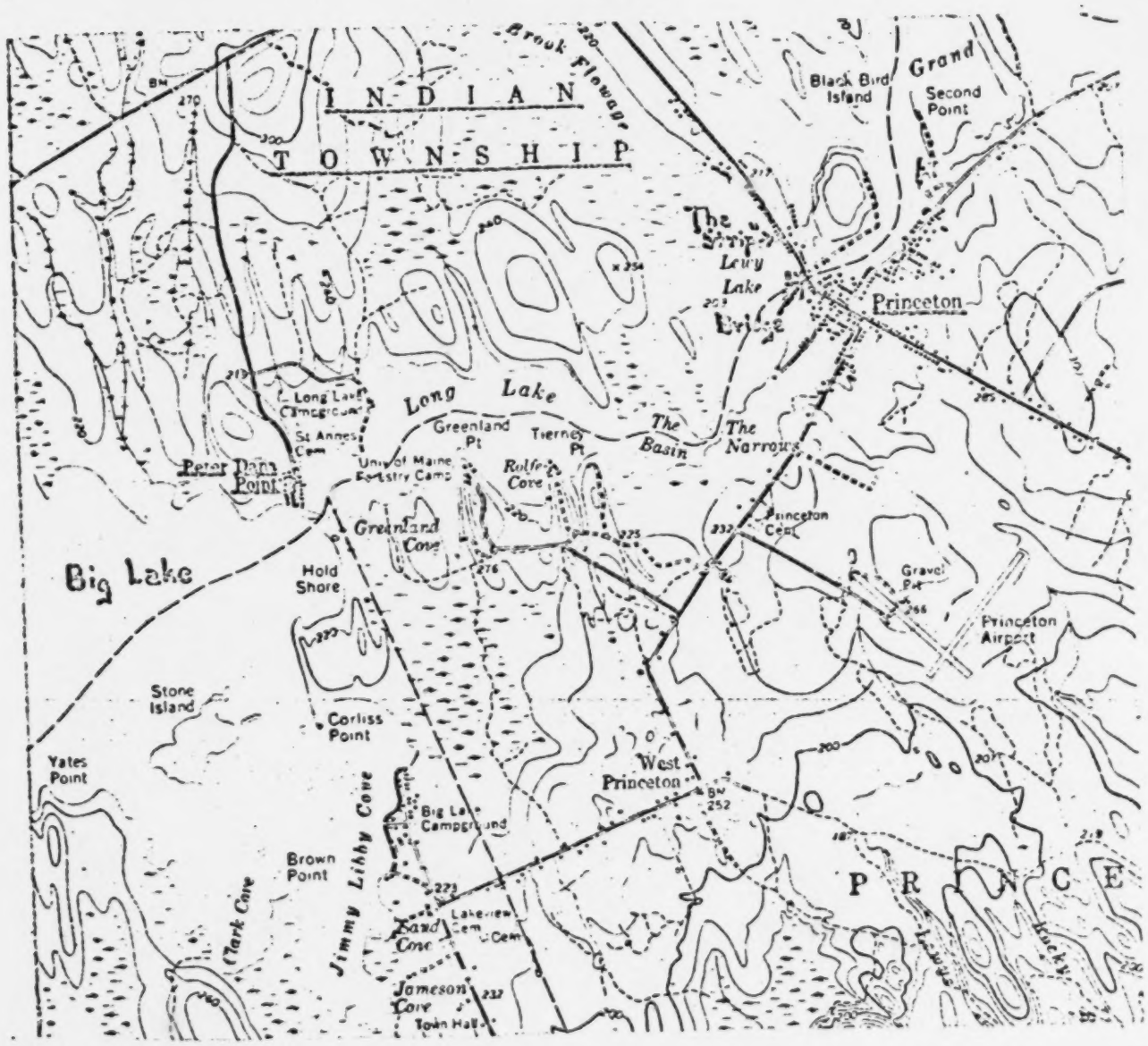
[9] "Washington County, Maine," a brochure published by the Washington County Board of Commissioners (Calais, Maine: The Calais Advertiser Press, c. 1968), p. 1.

[10] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 21 Maine (Washington, D.C., 1963), p. 54.

MAP 1

INDIAN TOWNSHIP---PRINCETON AREA*




equals 1 mi.

Scale

*Big Lake Quadrangle, United States Department of the Interior Geological Survey, revised 1963.

Location of Area in Maine

number of whites living in Indian Township, most of its residents are the 221 members of the Passamaquoddy Tribe. According to the Tribal Census of 1967, there are an additional 109 absentee members of the Tribe who are from Indian Township--thus placing total Tribal membership at 330.[11]

The bulk of Princeton's population lives in a core area only about one mile in diameter centering about one-eighty of a mile south from the cement bridge. As for Indian Township, about 12 or 15 families live along Lewey Lake on a quarter mile stretch of Route 1 immediately after crossing the bridge from Princeton. This area is locally known as the "Strip". The rest of the Indian population lives in a tightly clustered settlement called Peter Dana Point which extends into Big Lake. The "Point" is approximately seven miles from Princeton via paved road.

## 4. Description of the Populations

Table 1 describes the age distributions of Princeton and the Indian population of Indian Township. It is of particular importance to note that 53 percent of Princeton's population is under the age of 35, while 77 percent of the Indians are under 35.

---

[11] Census of the Passamaquoddy Tribe of Indians of Indian Township, compiled by the Tribal Census Committee, Indian Township, Maine: as of January 1, 1967.

TABLE 1

THE AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF PRINCETON AND INDIAN TOWNSHIP, PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATIONS[a]

| | Under 5 | 5-14 | 15-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | Over 65 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Princeton | 9.8 | 21.1 | 12.8 | 8.8 | 13.5 | 13.1 | 9.8 | 11.1 | 829 |
| Indian Township | 18.6 | 28.9 | 15.4 | 13.6 | 5.4 | 8.6 | 5.9 | 3.6 | 221 |

[a]Data are compiled from the U.S. Census: 1960; and, Census of the Passamaquoddy Tribe, 1967.

Table 2 compares the education of the two populations. These data were computed from a sample of 330 persons from Princeton and 64 persons from Indian Township who were interviewed as part of a survey describing manpower resources in Washington County.[12] While 79.7 percent of Indians interviewed had only an eighth grade education or less, only 19.7 percent of the whites interviewed fell into this category.

[12]Manpower Resources in Washington County Maine, Maine Employment Security Commission (Augusta, Maine: 1966).

TABLE 2

EDUCATION OF ADULTS SURVEYED IN PRINCETON AND INDIAN TOWNSHIP: MANPOWER RESOURCES, 1966[a]

| | Years of School Completed | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1-4 | 5-7 | 8 | 9-11 | 12 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | Over 4 | Total |
| Princeton | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | | 5 | 33 | 46 | 63 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | | 162 |
| Female | 1 | 7 | 19 | 47 | 78 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 2 | | 168 |
| Total | 1 | 12 | 52 | 93 | 141 | 9 | 10 | 4 | 8 | | 330 |
| % of Total | .3 | 3.6 | 15.8 | 28.2 | 42.7 | 2.7 | 3.0 | 1.2 | 2.4 | | 99.9 |
| Indian Township | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 2 | 4 | 19 | 6 | 2 | | | | | | 33 |
| Female | 1 | 9 | 16 | 2 | 3 | | | | | | 31 |
| Total | 3 | 13 | 35 | 8 | 5 | | | | | | 64 |
| % of Total | 4.7 | 20.3 | 54.7 | 12.5 | 7.8 | | | | | | 100.0 |

[a] Manpower Resources in Washington County, Maine, Maine Employment Security Commission, Augusta, Maine: 1966.

## 5. Economic Statistics

As of 1965 the unemployment rate in Washington County was 11.0 percent.[13] Although no statistics exist for the town of Princeton, there is no reason to believe the average annual rate varies much from that for the County. As for

[13] Ibid., p. 4.

the Indian labor force, of employable Indians 90 percent do not have permanent year round jobs.[14] These indications become more significant when compared to the national unemployment rate which in June 1968 was 3.5 percent.[15]

In order to get some perspective on the economic situation faced by whites and Indians alike in Washington County, the following assessment is presented.

> In 1960, 42% of the families in Washington County had annual incomes of under $3,000. Unemployment is higher in Maine than it is in the nation as a whole: 6.4% to 5.1%. . . . In Washington County, the unemployment rate in 1960 was 16.5%. The non-white population of Maine (other than Negroes) is mainly rural and this means that it is mainly Indian; this is particularly true of Washington County. Rural, non-farm, non-whites (other than Negroes) in the State as a whole have 87.8% of their number earning less than $3,000 a year. The average for all rural non-farm workers is 64.0% and, for workers of all kinds, it is 61.2%. . . .[16]

Although these figures give indications, it is noteworthy that they are based on 1960 data and are subject to revision allowing for economic improvement since then, e.g., the 1960 unemployment rate for the County is 16.5 percent as opposed to a 1965 rate of 11.0 percent. On the other hand, they are the most recent figures available and

---

[14] Andrea Schermer, "Maine's Stepchildren," Boston Sunday Globe (November 19, 1967). This percentage estimate was confirmed by Commissioner Edward C. Hinckley, Maine Department of Indian Affairs.

[15] Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report on the Labor Force, U.S. Department of Labor (June 1968), p. 4.

[16] Indian Township Summer Project--1967, ed. George H. LaPorte, report to the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, Inc., 1967.

would seem to retain their comparative value, although they may not be exactly accurate in absolute terms.

By a great margin the largest employer in the area is the Georgia-Pacific paper mill in Woodland around seven miles south of Princeton. It employs an average of 1,050 people in the mill, offices, and subsidiaries, plus an additional 700 who depend on the mill for wood sales, contract pulp hauling, and the like.[17] No other industry remotely approaches Georgia-Pacific in its effect on the economy of Princeton.

No manufacturing firm in Princeton or Indian Township employs more than twenty-five persons. The Quoddy Lumber Mill (white-owned) in Princeton is variously known as "The Poverty Factory" or "Starvation Mill" by those who once worked there but have found more lucrative jobs at Georgia-Pacific. The role of seasonal employment is great in both the Indian and white communities. There are five outdoor sporting camps all owned by whites; two in Princeton and three on the "Strip" in Indian Township. There is a camping ground on Indian Township run jointly by the Maine Forest Service, the University of Maine, and the Passamaquoddy Tribe. White and Indian guides work through the fishing and hunting seasons, but are often unemployed "out

[17] "Trees and Paper," information brochure published by Georgia-Pacific Company (Woodland, Maine, c. 1968).

of season". A number of Indians work for the State on the Township providing municipal services (garbage collection, sewage plant operation, etc.) while some others are in the State's employ cutting firewood for the needy members of the Tribe. Finally, potato-picking and blueberry-picking provide seasonal migratory employment for the Indians who travel to the picking areas in groups during the proper seasons.

As for goods and services available in Princeton, there are two grocery stores, two dry goods stores which stock some groceries, two barber shops, a motor cycle dealer, a chain saw shop, a laundromat, a small textile shop, a small ice cream stand, three service stations and several gas pumps in front of the other stores. The townalso has an insurance agency, a post office and a one-room library. Most of the Indians from the Township shop for groceries and day-to-day items in Princeton. The only business on the Township run by an Indian is a candy shop which opens and closes periodically depending on whether its owner is currently working in the woods or not. Indian crafts, hand made and sold along the roadside, were a minor industry as recently as a year or two ago. At present no Indian crafts are made or sold due to low demand and the minimal return the work brings. There is a movie theater (open very occasionally) and a combination car dealer-garage opposite the "Strip" on the Township, but these are owned and operated by whites.

The residents of both Princeton and Indian Township must go to either Woodland or Calais for prescription medicines, clothing, household appliances, banking services, medical services, and any major purchases.

### 6. Social Organizations

Princeton has two churches: the Congregational and the Baptist. Both have a membership of between 115 and 125 families, and both are entirely white in membership. There is a Catholic mission church at Peter Dana Point with a full-time pastor from the Portland diocese residing at the rectory on the Point. In addition, there are Catholic services held in an old school house on the "Strip" every Sunday. The Indian population is 100% Catholic, although not all Passamaquoddy participate in worship and church activities. There are a few Catholic families in Princeton, some of which go to the Catholic church in Woodland, while others attend the mission on the "Strip".

In both communities clubs and social get-togethers are almost exclusively oriented around the churches. For this reason most activities of this sort are segregated along both religious and racial lines. A significant "breakthrough" in this area was taking place in the last two weeks of June 1968 in the form of a vacation school co-sponsored by the Congregational and Catholic churches. During this time Indian and white children got together for supervised games and nature studies.

Probably the most important avenue of informal social relations between Indians and whites is through the summer baseball league. The men of the Tribe have a team which generally practices every evening around six o'clock and plays league games on Sunday afternoons. Princeton does not have a team. The Passamaquoddy play teams from other towns and Indian reservations in the area. When they play home games, a few whites from Princeton usually travel to the Point to watch along with many spectators from the Tribe.

## 7. Political Relations

Princeton was incorporated as a town in 1832. It is currently governed by three selectmen who meet weekly to conduct the Town's business. In addition, there is a Town Clerk who handles day-to-day affairs. Princeton has its own elementary school (grades 1-8), and up until 1968 had its own high school. Beginning in the fall semester of 1968 Princeton high school students will go to a consolidated high school in Woodland. All municipal services for Princeton's residents are the responsibility of their Town Government.

The designation "Township" is, for the most part, geographical. The governing body for the Indians on the Township is the Passamaquoddy Tribe. The officers of the Tribe include the Tribal Governor, a Lieutenant Governor, and six Tribal Councilmen all of whom are elected biennially. All of these officers are members of the Passamaquoddy

Tribe, Indian Township. These Indians, and the other two-thirds of their Tribe which lives on another reservation 40 miles away on Pleasant Point in Eastport, Maine, share a non-voting representative to the Maine State Legislature. This representative is elected from each reservation alternately each biennium.

The roads in Indian Township are part of the State highway system and are, therefore, maintained by the State. Other municipal services such as garbage collection, sewage, and water are provided by the State. The State, in addition, assumes full responsibility for the education of Passamaquoddy children. There is a school on Peter Dana Point maintained by the State but taught by three Sisters of Mercy from the Diocese of Portland. Indians who go to high school have, for the most part, gone to Princeton. Due to the aforementioned consolidation they will attend high school in Woodland in 1968. All high school and college tuition is provided by the State. Thus, the responsibilities of the Tribe are mostly limited to an annual census and the appointment of law enforcement constables.

As for law enforcement, Princeton has a sheriff's deputy residing in the town. State police periodically pass through the town as part of their patrol of route 1. On the Township there is an Indian constable and his deputy who live at Peter Dana Point. They are empowered to enforce state laws on the Township.

Whereas Princeton has a rather loose, indirect relationship with the State government, the Passamaquoddy Tribe has a close, direct connection. The liaison, in the person of an Indian Development Specialist (commonly known by Indians and whites as the Indian Agent), has an office in Calais which serves both the Pleasant Point and Indian Township reservations. Through direct contact with the Indian Agent, the members of the Tribe get food and clothing allowances, medical services, and other requests for aid.[18]

All residents of Maine, Indian and white, may benefit from the following health and welfare services if eligible: the Social Security Act (and related Federal Programs), Aid to Dependent Children, Old Age assistance, Aid to the Disabled, Aid to the Blind. Indians on the Township benefit from these additional programs and services:

> A Surplus Food Program through the U.S. Department of Agriculture;
>
> A Community Action Program (including a summer Youth Corps project) sponsored by the Federal Government;
>
> A Head Start Program sponsored by the Federal Government;
>
> Two VISTA volunteers;

---

[18]The exact manner in which much of this aid is dispensed is significant. Assume that Jim Tomah (a Passamaquoddy) goes to the IGA supermarket in Princeton to buy some groceries. He fills his cart and goes to the cashier; the groceries add up to $5.00. The clerk then calls the Indian Agent's office to ask if he may charge the office for Jim's order. The response of the Indian Agent, by his own admission to me, is quite arbitrary. Most of the time such a request is granted.

Health and welfare services provided by the Portland Diocese of the Catholic Church;

A summer remedial education project variously sponsored by private funds and the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee.

## 8. A Brief History of the Area

Formerly Township No. 17, Princeton was settled in 1815 by Moses Bonney and incorporated on February 3, 1832. Over the years the economy of the town has rested heavily on the fortunes of the wood cutting and pulp industries. The town has never gone through any sort of economic boom, although, on the other hand, older residents today can vividly recount the misery they felt through the depression of the 1930's. The population statistics over the past sixty years (Table 3) indicate relative stability with some decline, particularly since 1940. This is in part due to greater mobility and the desire on the part of Princeton's younger population to seek work in other parts of Maine or in other states to the south.

Relatively little is known about the history of the Passamaquoddy Tribe on Indian Township. The settlement of Big Lake was reportedly established in 1850 by Peter Dana, a Passamaquoddy Indian, and a few other Indian families. A year after the Point was settled the first Catholic mission was built.[19] The particular site was chosen, according to

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[19] Bruce W. Belmore, Early Princeton, Maine (Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1947), p. 47.

stories told by contemporary Indians, because the water which forms a bay on the east side of the Point never freezes in the winter due to the current which constantly moves through it. The "old" Indians were thus able to fish year round from their canoes in the fresh water bay.

The Indian population of Indian Township has increased steadily since records were first kept (although many of the records are somewhat questionable) and it is increasing today. The figures in Table 3 reflect the presence of a small number of whites in the Township (20 in 1960), but the increases are overwhelmingly due to expansion of the Indian population. This trend corresponds to the overall increase in Maine's Indian population by 136% (798 to 1,879) between 1900 and 1960 according to United States Census data over those years.

TABLE 3

POPULATIONS OF PRINCETON AND INDIAN TOWNSHIP MAINE, 1900 to 1960[a]

| | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Princeton | 1,094 | 1,091 | 934 | 984 | 1,009 | 865 | 829 |
| Indian Township | 87 | 94 | 136 | 154 | 195 | 221 | 259 |

[a]Data compiled from U.S. Census: 1960 and the Maine Register State Year-Book and Legislative Manual, 1967.

Finally, of some importance to understanding the contemporary life-style and motivations of the Passamaquoddy Indians is the nature of their culture prior to white contact and subsequent domination. The semi-nomadic way of life described below has some bearing on current preferences and habits which are discussed in later chapters.

> Indian bands in Maine normally moved several times each year in response to available food supplies. Each spring they fished the rivers for alewives, shad, and salmon and planted corn, squash, beans and other vegetables in selected spots on the river banks. In June their camp sites were moved to the seashore where they caught porpoise and seal to provide oil and skins, hunted eggs and the young of sea birds, gathered clams and lobsters, of which part were dried for winter food. The frosts of September called the Indians to harvest the crops previously planted on the river banks. With harvesting done, October found them farther upstream, prowling the deep forests for game. According to tradition, a two-weeks thanksgiving feast, late in the fall but before mid-December, featuring turkey, cranberries, and Indian pudding, has its modern Thanksgiving Day counterpart. Winter snows marked another period in the big woods hunting moose and trapping smaller game. Before the ice went out of the rivers, a spring catch of otter and beaver had to be made. When the rivers became ice-free, muskrat trapping called and canoes were again used to fish the rivers, and for the return to the downstream river lands for another spring planting.[20]

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[20] "Indians of Maine," prepared by the State Department of Economic Development, et. al. (1968).

# CHAPTER II

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

### 1. Overview of Indian-White Relations in the United States

In attempts to explain the origins of particular patterns of intergroup relations some theorists have tended to focus on the circumstances of the initial contact between the groups. These "frontier" theorists, such as Lind and Frazier, explain the patterns of race relations in terms of the basic economy of the contact area growing out of its natural resources, the supply of labor, and the motivations behind the migrant group (i.e., trade, land, or natural resources).[1] Following their example, it would seem useful to examine unique aspects of the initial Indian-white contact situation in order to understand better the background of contemporary relations.

The outstanding fact about initial Indian-white contact is that the American Indians were "invaded" as opposed to being imported as slaves, or entering the North American continent as indentured servants or immigrants. When race relations are taken in a world perspective, this

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[1]See Andrew Lind, ed., Race Relations in World Perspective (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955); and E. Franklin Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World (New York: Alfred H. Knopf, 1957).

relationship (an aboriginal population being invaded by a technologically more advanced group) is very common. During the ages of discovery and subsequent colonialism, most initial race contact was made by European whites landing on the shores of technologically less developed peoples. Like most of these peoples, the Indian soon found himself at a severe disadvantage in his ability to fight for his land and his social and cultural systems. Lieberson calls this a case of "migrant superordination" in which one group invades and suppresses a native population. Lieberson isolates a sequence of events in migrant superordination.[2]

1. "When the population migrating to a new contact situation is superior in technology (particularly weapons) and more tightly organized than the indigenous group, the necessary conditions for maintaining the migrants' political and economic institutions are usually imposed on the indigenous population."[3]
2. Warfare under such conditions usually occurs early in these contacts as the migrants begin to interfere with the natives' established order even though the initial contact may have been friendly. (This has occurred in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States.)

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[2]Stanley Lieberson, "A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations," American Sociological Review, XXVI (December, 1961), 902-910.

[3]Ibid., p. 904.

3. The numerical decline of the indigenous population ensues after initial contacts with the migrant group due to: diseases, disruption of sustenance activities or warfare.
4. The superordinate migrants frequently create political entities that do not agree at all with the boundaries existing during the indigenous population's supremacy prior to contact. (For example, the British and Boers carving up South Africa in such a way as to violate all tribal territories; or the herding of the indigenous population on to a single, limited, alien reserve as in the United States.) ". . . This incorporation of diverse indigenous populations into a single territorial unit under the dominance of a migrant group has considerable importance for later developments in this type of racial and ethnic contact."[4]

Lieberson's observations are compatible with those of the aforementioned frontier theorists. Specifically with regard to the American Indian-European white contact situation, one can explain initial friendly relations on the basis of initial curiosity on a trade or barter frontier. In situations of utilitarian exchange, inter-racial contacts

[4] Ibid., p. 905.

are generally egalitarian and friendly (possibly because they are epeheral and on a rather limited scale); although Frazier contends that such contacts often became a source of conflict because "The Europeans began with the bartering of goods and gradually engaged in the buying and selling of men."[5]

The conflict which emerged between Indians and whites did not involve human bondage or the slave trade. Rather, possession and defense of land became the critical factor affecting race relations on what Lind refers to as the farm settlement frontier.

> The portions of the world into which land-hungry peasant peoples have characteristically swarmed during the past two centuries have differed from the plantation frontiers chiefly in the opportunity they afford the entire family to re-establish itself in a new land on a free and independent basis. Here the problem of labor scarcely exists, since the immigrant supply is self-propagating. Land, on the other hand, constitutes for both invaders and indigenes the repository of all values, and the struggle over its possession may become both bitter and intense. The racial problem is simplified by the absence of several subordinate groups struggling for power and recognition, but the depth of feeling between the groups is all the more intensified as a consequence.[6]

Another historical factor contributing to the relations which have developed between the red man and the white man in America is the wide range of cultural differences within the Amerind population itself. From the first contact to the present Indians have been a single group only in the broadest sense.

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[5]Frazier, p. 44. [6]Lind, p. 60; also see Frazier, pp. 42-46.

> The important point is that Indians are essentially an ethnic or cultural minority rather than a racial one; they derive their identity from association in culturally and socially distinct Indian groups. People who make up the recognized Indian population, in contrast to the many millions of whites who proudly admit to 'Indian' ancestry, think of themselves first as Sioux, Navaho, Chippewa, or whatever the case may be, and secondarily simply as Indians.[7]

Like virtually all races of men, American Indians are a culturally fragmented race. And yet, traditionally there has been almost no recognition of Amerind cultural differentiation in official national policy or common belief. The historical policy of the United States government, for the most part, has been designed for what was believed to be a culturally homogeneous group adaptable to the very worst possible environment to which the members of the group could be herded. Particularly in the 19th century policy was devised to avoid any complication by recognition of cultural variation by turning to the rubric---"The only good Indian is a dead Indian."[8]

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[7]Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "The Enduring Indian," reprinted from Natural History Magazine (Nov. 1966), distributed by Maine Department of Indian Affairs.

[8]"A Kansas newspaper summarized the general feeling about Indians in the middle of the last century: 'A set of miserable, dirty, lousy, blanketed, thieving, lying, sneaking, murdering, graceless, faithless, gut-eating skunks as the Lord ever permitted to infest the earth, and whose immediate and final extermination all men, except Indian agents and traders, should pray for'." Quoted in Peter Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization as shown by the Indians of North America from Primeval Times to the Coming of the Industrial State (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1968), p. 255.

Finally, the Amerind in general, and each tribe in particular, found itself the victim of a super-paternalistic era in American history--an era most commonly referred to as "Manifest Destiny". As the westward expansion saw a virtual tidal wave of white settlers flood the continent, a cult of "progress" justified the immediate acculturation, relocation, or extermination of the American "savages".

The Indians' fate is most vividly exemplified in President Andrew Jackson's Second Annual Message delivered December 6, 1830:

> Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country, and Philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it, but its progress has never for a moment been arrested, and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. . . . But true Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than twelve million happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization and religion.[9]

And, therefore, for almost a century the absolute subjugation and disembowelment of Amerind societies was rationalized and justified.

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[9]James D. Richardson, ed., A Compliation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897, Vol. 2 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office), 520-521.

## 2. The Sociological Significance of this Relationship

The overall results of migrant superordination over a culturally fragmented race sparsely populated on a farm frontier during an era of "Manifest Destiny" were two: extermination or reservation living. The significance of the first is self-explanatory.

> By 1800 the aboriginal population, originally estimated by Kroeber at 720,000, was down to about 600,000. Fifty years later it was about 250,000. The major causes of the decline are listed by Mooney as diseases, whiskey and attendant dissipation, removals, starvation and the adverse effects of unaccustomed conditions. Effects of war were minor and subsidiary to all of these.[10]

Reservation living, although far less dramatic than the depletion of the American Indian population, has had far-reaching effects up to the present. Reservations have symbolized the resistance to assimilation of the American Indian cultures into the conglomerate American culture surrounding them. Good or bad, desirable or undesirable, reservations have led to the following sequence of social phenomena:

1. Isolation. Reservations by definition mean segregation and isolation of one group from another.
2. Reinforcement of cultural and social pluralism legitimized for both Indians and whites in the official reservation policy.

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[10] J. Nixon Hadley, "The Demography of the American Indians," in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 311 (May, 1957), 24.

3. Intense in-group awareness on the part of each tribe as it strives to retain its cultural identity.

4. The surrounding white society finds it easy to stereotype and discriminate against "legitimately" isolated Indian groups on the basis of difference; clannishness; inferiority; "wardship"; etc.[11]

5. The elements of scapegoating (visibility, availability, vulnerability, and mass indifference or approval of the scapegoat behavior) are intensified due to elements one through four.[12]

6. On the part of whites the potential of scapegoating is coupled with frustrations over the failure and/or resistance of Indians to assimilate; assimilation being idealized in the 'melting pot' value implicit in the American Creed.[13]

7. The result may be "defensive beliefs" which support prejudicial and discriminatory

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[11]Items one through four find parallels in Louis Wirth, The Ghetto (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 287-291 in which he discusses the ghetto as a social phenomenon.

[12]See Robin M. Williams, Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions (Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 57, 1947).

[13]For a discussion of this phenomenon see Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Vol. 1 (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), pp. 50-53.

behavior and/or overt hostility between Indians and whites.[14]

Since the American Revolution the official government policy toward Indians has been laden with inconsistencies. It has varied from an emphasis on total social and cultural pluralism (reservation living) to immediate assimilation via termination of the reservations. The first epitomizes the embodiment of a subordinate society within a superordinate society, while the second has created social and cultural shock which has been very difficult, if not impossible, for those involved to overcome.[15]

Within the scope of this study these complications may only be recognized as outgrowths of the heritage belonging to all American Indians who now live on reservations. In addition, they represent policy dilemmas for those entrusted with the administration of Indian affairs and the well-being American Indians.

### 3. Maine's State Department of Indian Affairs

The foregoing historical perspective briefly outlined the common legacy of all American Indian groups. This general heritage embraces the Indians of Maine because they have been subject to the same American historical trends

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[14]As suggested by John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1957), pp. 64-69.

[15]See Brophy and Aberle.

as their counterparts in Florida, California or Oregon. On the other hand, there are peculiarities which distinguish the situation of Maine's Indians. The most significant of these is that Maine Indians do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government even though they live on reservations. The Indian tribes of Maine have never been served by the two Federal agencies devoted to Indian administration: the Bureau of Indian Affairs (U.S. Department of the Interior) and the U.S. Public Health Service's Division of Indian Health (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare). Current responsibility for the majority of Maine's Indians rests with the State Department of Indian Affairs based at the state capitol in Augusta.

This fact significantly affects the aid available to Maine's Indians. They do not qualify for the various health and development programs specifically for Indians administered through the two Federal agencies mentioned above. On the other hand, the recent creation of Maine's own Department of Indian Affairs in 1966 coupled with its responsibility for only a relatively few Indians relieves Maine's Indian administrators of the burdens of bureaucratic tradition and the need to design programs that must be generalized to fit widely varying situations.

The Department's stated goals and programs include the following:

1. Continuation of general assistance programs for indigent tribal members residing on-Reservation as long, and to such extent as needed;

2. Continuation, at an accelerated rate, of needed physical development programs on all Reservations, making full use of Federal program funds where available, particularly in such areas as housing, water, sanitation and construction of community buildings, all of which have been identified by the Tribal Councils as being of critical importance;

3. Initiation of programs aimed at human and community development, utilizing all available State and Federal resources (with particular reference to provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act) based on expressed needs of the Indian people;

4. Constant cooperation with the State Department of Education, State Board of Education, University of Maine, the Diocese of Portland, private agencies and groups, etc., in efforts to upgrade existing levels of education, particularly with high school graduates and adults;

5. Cooperation with all State and Federal Agencies involved in man-power training, employment and economic development, in efforts to upgrade existing economic levels of the Reservations and of individual tribal members.[16]

The present staff consists of a Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner (Housing and Construction), two Stenographers and an Account Clerk in the central office at the State Capitol in Augusta. In addition, there is an Indian Development Specialist (Agent) in the Penobscot field office on Indian Island, Old Town; and an Indian Development Specialist, a Social Worker (position currently not filled) and a Clerk-Typist in the Passamaquoddy field office in Calais.

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[16]Fact sheet published and distributed by Maine's State Department of Indian Affairs.

## 4. The Dispute Over Land

The importance of the following section is that it elaborates on the origins of Maine's jurisdiction over the Indian tribes within its borders and focuses on the key underlying issue which threads through the history of relations between the Passamaquoddy Tribe and the State. Most of the subsequent information is taken from a Bill of Complaint filed in Suffolk Superior Court in Massachusetts. Via this Bill, Passamaquoddy Tribe on Its Behalf and on Behalf of Those Connected With Them versus Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the Indians hope to gain restitution for what they allege to be a failure on the part of Massachusetts to carry out its treaty obligations.[17]

From 1775 to 1784 during the War for Independence the Passamaquoddy Indians fell under the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Continental Congress. In 1784, through an effort to further expand its state's rights, Massachusetts insisted on gaining full jurisdiction over the tribes within its territories. In the same year, Massachusetts, with consent of the United States Government, assumed jurisdiction over and responsibility for those tribes.

In 1794 a treaty was signed between the Passamaquoddy Tribe and the Commonwealth assigning lands specifically to the Tribe, whereas previously the Indians

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[17]The attorneys signing the Bill are John S. Bottomly and Don C. Gellers.

had . oamed freely over Washington County and vicinity as hunting grounds. In addition, the treaty obligated Massachusetts to subsidize the Tribe by furnishing supplies in lieu of those they had previously obtained from the hunting grounds they had originally occupied.

This treaty is the basis for the complaints against Massachusetts which include the following:

1. Some of the land granted in the Treaty of 1794 had been sold even before the treaty was signed. The Indians had not been aware of this fact.
2. Massachusetts allegedly failed to supply the subsidies referred to in the treaty.
3. Although the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was allowed to cut all pine trees on the reserved lands fit for masts and compensate the Indians for them, the Commonwealth allowed cutting of all timber without compensation.

In 1820 Maine became a state separate from Massachusetts. Although the Penobscot Tribe released Massachusetts from its obligations to their people, the Passamaquoddy Tribe did not. In spite of this, after 1820 Maine acted in place of Massachusetts as administrator over the Indians including the Passamaquoddy Tribe. From that time to the present Maine allegedly did the following:

1. sold Passamaquoddy timber without compensation to the Indians;

2. constructed roads or allowed construction of railroad tracks, utility poles, and taking of gravel on Indian land without compensation;
3. allowed occupation of 7,906 acres of Passamaquoddy land by approximately 30 non-Indians--approximately 2,969 acres of that land has been flooded as a result of dams built by non-Indians;
4. misallocated and mismanaged monies in the Indian trust fund;
5. blocked Indian attempts to seek redress in Maine's courts and disallowed Passamaquoddy requests to use a portion of their trust fund money to prepare their case.

These allegations against Massachusetts as the party responsible for assuring that the Treaty of 1794 was upheld have yet to be proved in the courts, but documentation confirming the historical contents of the Bill of Complaint is available.[18]

### 5. The Paper Company Dispute

Relations between the Georgia-Pacific paper company and the Tribe deserve mention because they proved to be

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[18] A compilation of treaties, laws relating to Indians, inquiries and related documents in Maine Legislative Research Committee Report on Maine Indians--Proctor Report (September, 1942). Also see Maine, Health and Welfare Department, "Miscellaneous Provisions of the Law Relating to Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians, Including all Amendments Made by the 99th Legislature in 1959."

the most burning issue in the Indian community while the data for this study was being collected. The core of the dispute revolves around a long standing contract between the Georgia-Pacific Company (the St. Croix company before Georgia-Pacific took it over) and the Passamaquoddy Tribe which agreed to allow the company to cut wood for pulp on the Township in exchange for a "stumpage fee". The complaint lodged by the Tribe rests on two counts: (1) The Company allegedly ruins the land by indiscriminate cutting and the use of large machines which dig up the ground. (2) Indian labor should be used to work on the lots being cut on the Township and the Company should provide the needed job training to prepare Indian labor.

During June and the first two weeks in July 1968, the dispute reached a point at which the Tribe forced work stoppages on the wood lots by conducting sit-down strikes in front of the Company tractors. Since the land being harvested by the Company is part of that involved in the Bill of Complaint discussed above, the legal aspects of the matter are complicated. The immediate "crisis" was resolved in mid-July through an agreement made by the Tribe and Company on a Forestry Training and Employment Program. The over-riding issue involving the ownership of land and a suit involving one-hundred fifty million dollars damages, as of August 1968, was awaiting decision in the Massachusetts courts.

# CHAPTER III

## THEORETICAL ORIENTATION AND HYPOTHESES

### 1. Theoretical Framework

The study of relations between racial and/or ethnic groups is, above all, examination and analysis of a particular type of inter-group interaction. The various theorists in the field of race and ethnic relations have called their study that of minority group relations,[1] dominant-minority relations,[2] race and culture contacts,[3] superordinate-subordinate[4] relations, and numerous other terms. All of these can accurately be subsumed under the more general approach called by Robin Williams inter-group relations.[5]

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[1]See Blalock.

[2]Charles F. Marden and Gladys Meyer, Minorities in American Society (New York: American Book Company, 1968).

[3]E. Franklin Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in The Modern World (Alfred A. Knopf, 1957).

[4]Lieberson, American Sociological Review, XXVI, 902-910.

[5]See Williams, The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions.

The term inter-group relations appears to be the most functional and appropriate in describing exactly the subject matter of one who studies relations between racial and/or ethnic groups. In the first place it eliminates some semantic problems inherent in the alternative designations listed above. For instance, would one call the black population of South Africa a minority group? Clearly, this population is subordinate to the smaller white population, while the whites are a numerical minority. This situation may cause some confusion in our thinking, especially if we go under the assumption evident in American inter-racial and ethnic relations research that the subordinate group is synonymous with minority group. If both South African and American racial-ethnic relations are taken within the larger framework of inter-group relations, the relationships between superordinate-subordinate and majority-minority are clearly recognized as <u>conditions</u> to be specified rather than given assumptions in the theory.

Secondly, when one initiates research focusing on a basic concept such as "group" without immediately assuming anything about the nature of various groups' relationships based on group size, group composition, or the relative status of the group, he may profit by gaining insights that are more easily integrated with a larger system of sociological theory. In other words, the more basic the concepts one starts with, the more likely he will be able to compare and apply his findings to large, more inclusive theory of social interaction.

Two of Merton's criteria for a "group" are: (1) people in a group define themselves as members of the group, and (2) the members of the group are defined by others as belonging to the group.[6] We need not say anything about interaction between the members of a group as we define the term for use here. The members of a group need not interact with every other member. To take a hypothetical example, a black man in an isolated town might work with whites, live in an otherwise all white neighborhood, and have exclusively white friends. Even though he had virtually no contact with other members of his race, he would objectively define himself as Negro and would be defined by others as belonging to the Negro racial group by virtue of his skin color and other physical characteristics. Group membership in this sense is dependent upon definition exclusive of interaction.[7]

Racial and/or ethnic groups in the United States recognize themselves, and are recognized by others, as separate groups on the basis of certain more or less overt differences. These differences fall into six categories:

1. Physical characteristics to varying degrees in individuals;

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[6]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Toronto: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 284-286. The third of Merton's criteria for a group is interaction according to established patterns.

[7]Pierre L. van den Berghe, Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective (New York: Wiley, 1967), pp. 9-10. Van den Berghe's definitions of race and ethnic group will be used throughout: a race being a group that is socially defined but on the basis of physical criteria. An ethnic group is socially defined but on the basis of cultural criteria.

2. Cultural norms and values (within this category fall innumerable variations from dress to courtship pattern, or dominant religious credo to dominant political doctrine);
3. Language to varying degrees (Although more technically a part of a racial or, more likely, an ethnic group's culture, it is considered separate here due to its importance as an "identifier" and its correlative significance to the assimilation or non-assimilation of groups into a society. Compare the experience of the United States, for the most part a one-language nation, and that of India or Canada which each have significant portions of their populations speaking different languages.);
4. Participation in national heritage (For example, whites, Indians, and Negroes clearly hold vastly different positions in American "history". Although such positions are largely a result of historical circumstances, van den Berghe's observation that "Historiography might be defined as a new secularized way of creating a country's national mythology,"[8] is cogent here.);

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[8] Ibid., p. 77.

5. Relationship to the society's political institution (The difference of the Negro was defined in the American Constitution when he was declared to be three-fifths of a man. In the case of the Indian, the establishment of a Bureau of Indian Affairs indicates a certain uniqueness. There has never been a Bureau of Irish or Italian Affairs. As indicated in Chapter II, the resistance to assimilation of the American Indian has been literally institutionalized.);
6. Overall economic position (One of the characteristics universally assigned to a group in a multi-racial or multi-ethnic society is the group's class position in terms of wealth, power, and prestige.[9] For example, in American society most white Americans perceive themselves as, and are perceived by others to be, "middle class".[10] On the other hand, the thrust of the contemporary civil rights movement in

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[9]This three-dimensional approach is treated at length in Harry C. Bredemeier and Richard M. Stephenson, The Analysis of Social Systems (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp. 318-336. Also see Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 40-41.

[10]Centers notes that in studies using the three-fold classification upper, middle, and lower class, the great majority claim the middle class. In a 1946 survey of 1,337 white males, 88% responded that they were in either the middle class or the working class as opposed to the upper or lower classes. Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Class (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 76-78.

> America--a Poor People's Campaign--would indicate that a far greater percentage of Negroes and Indians than whites perceive themselves to be poor. Statistics would seem to verify their perception.[11] In contemporary America, urban poverty is virtually synonymous with the ghetto dwelling Negro and rural poverty is virtually synonymous with the southern Negro, the reservation living Indian, and the country's migratory farm workers.)

Consolidating these six categories, it is clear that racial and/or ethnic groups in the United States are differentiated in day-to-day contacts with members of other groups by two predominant characteristics:

1. Physical characteristics such as color, facial features, build, hair texture, etc., and;
2. Class position, or socio-economic status as manifest in the group's collective wealth, power, and prestige.

A third characteristics includes cultural heritage, language, and associated sign-posts for group identification. Ethnicity is the term for this conglomerate characteristic. Therefore, in this study the term race-ethnicity will refer

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[11] In a socio-economic index composed of occupation, education, and income the median score for whites is 54.6, for Negroes 27.5, and for American Indians, 26.6. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Socio-economic Status (Washington, D.C., 1967), pp. 2 and 47.

to those traits differentiating groups according to physical attributes and/or cultural heritage including nationality, language, or other group traits collectively ascribed to each member of the group through his socialization within it. The six racial-ethnic groups referred to in this study are: American (U.S. white), French Canadian, Indian (American), Jews, Negroes, and Orientals (Japanese and Chinese).[12]

Race-ethnicity and class position are the two primary referents most Americans turn to, consciously or unconsciously, when they determine the social distance they will place between themselves and another group or individual.[13] Park very specifically used the terms "race consciousness" and "class consciousness" when explaining his conceptualization of social distance.[14] Innumerable discussions in the literature of the relationship between "color caste" and "social class" attest to the importance of these two cues for differentiation in American social relations.[15]

This study explores the differences of social distance expressed by two racial-ethnic groups with the purpose

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[12]Rationale for these categories is found in Chapter IV on Methods.

[13]These two factors, race-ethnicity and class, are the essential components which contribute to status consciousness, a central concept developed by Hubert M. Blalock in Toward A Theory. In particular, see Blalock's Appendix A, "A Note on Race Versus Class Prejudice," pp. 199-203 for a discussion of their relevance to social distance in the United States.

[14]Park, Journal of Applied Sociology, VIII, 339-340.

[15]For example, see John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, and, Oliver Cromwell Cox, Caste, Class and Race (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959).

of elaborating on the elements which determine it: the perception of socio-economic status (class position factors defined in terms of wealth, power, and prestige); attitudes of preference for association (felt degrees of intimacy measured in terms of a Bogardus-type social distance scale); and contact (the actual degree of interaction and intimacy reported by respondents).

By testing the following hypotheses which guide the research, we expect to: (1) analyze and interpret social distance as expressed by Indians and whites toward the other five groups, and (2) compare the findings on Indians and whites in an attempt to explain the perceptions and attitudes which affect the behavior of the two groups' members toward one another.

2. The Underlying Assumption

All indications tell us that human beings have divided themselves into socially defined groups since the beginning of recorded history. The divisions have been based on physical characteristics, kinship, cultural differences, social stratification, and innumerable other criteria for various "memberships". Sumner expressed his conception of social group and its environment as follows:

> A group of groups may have some relation to each other (kin, neighborhood, alliance, connubium and commercium) which draws them together and differentiates them from others. Thus a differentiation arises between ourselves, the we-group, or in-group and everybody else, or the others-groups, out-groups.[16]

[16] William Graham Sumner, Folkways (New York: Mentor, 1960), p. 27.

Gordon Allport found himself at somewhat of a loss when trying to express his exact meaning of an in-group, saying that "It is difficult to define an in-group precisely. Perhaps the best that can be done is to say that members of an in-group all use the term we with the same essential significance."[17] It is the basic socially defined difference between we and others which is the underlying assumption upon which the following hypotheses rest.

Individuals conceive of themselves as belonging to certain groups. Although the criteria for group membership vary from society to society, and within societies, consciousness of certain we-group memberships and a logically necessary others-groups environment is universal.

### 3. Hypotheses

Ethnocentrism refers to attitudes of superiority concerning the folkways of one's in-group and the invidious comparison to those of out-groups. Or, in Sumner's words, "Ethnocentrism is the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it."[18]

Merton notes that Sumner's portrayal of ethnocentrism and its resultant hostility may be overstated. Merton suggests that the "in-group solidarity and out-group hostility" relationship Sumner stressed is not necessarily the predominant pattern of relations exhibited by the members of

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[17]Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1958), p. 31.

[18]Sumner, Folkways, p. 27.

groups in their relations with other groups.[19] Merton's point is well taken in light of his conceptualization of reference group and the development of his reference group theory. On the other hand, allowing that mutual hostility is not necessarily implied in the in-group--out-groups relations, one might still retain the notion that on the basis of consciousness of kind and the common definition of membership in a group, a certain degree of in-group preference will prevail.

Due to in-group consciousness it can, therefore, be predicted that there will be greatest preference for intimate contact with members of one's own group.

When we speak of the relationship between inter-group contact and attitudes of preference, we are talking about what Homans calls interaction and sentiment. As for this relationship, Homans postulates the following:

> We can, then, sum up the relationship between interaction and sentiment both in the group as a whole and in the sub-groups by saying once more that the more frequently persons interact with one another, the stronger their sentiments of friendship for one another are apt to be. (His emphasis.)[20]

Homans draws this conclusion on the basis of a fairly limited case of intra-group interaction--the Bank Wiring Observation.[21] To provide evidence more directly

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[19]Merton, Social Theory, pp. 297-299.

[20]George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, 1950), p. 33.

[21]See Homans, pp. 48-80.

applicable to inter-group relations, we cite Deutsch and Collins' study of integrated and segregated housing projects. Basically their results seem to confirm their hypothesis that "as the amount of contact between any two persons increases, they will tend to like each other more."[22] Their results also seem to indicate that the more intimate the contact, the greater the friendliness between white and Negro women studied.

It is hypothesized that the greater the frequency and intimacy of contact between members of two groups, the greater the preference for association between the members of the groups.

Robert E. Park noted over forty years ago that "The more marked racial differences, the more intense is racial self-consciousness, and the greater the social distance that separates the alien from the native peoples."[23] We will proceed to further document the essential significance of this observation.

> When investigating the attitudes of women undergraduates in one of the Oxbridge colleges, Shelia Webster used a social distance test. She found that the girls roughly divided the world into two main categories: P.L.U. (people like us) and the others, those unlike us, outside our social sphere, those

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[22] Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins, "Interracial Housing," in William Peterson, ed., American Social Patterns (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1956), p. 11.

[23] Robert E. Park, Race and Culture: The Collected Papers of Robert Ezra Park, Vol. I, edited by Everett C. Hughes, Charles S. Johnson, Jitsuichi Masuoka, Robert Redfield, and Louis Wirth (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950), p. 253.

> who are N.O.C.D. (not our class, dear). Color or, rather color plus the physical features that often accompany it (prognathism, a flat wide nose, thick lips, and kinky hair in the case of the Negro) appeared to be the cue for a high degree of social distance. It was the supreme symbol of 'unlikeness.'[24]

The foregoing paragraph indicates the role of visibility due to physical traits as a determinant of social distance. The basic nature of this factor, even more basic than the role of social position (or class) which is often highly associated with it, suggests that simply on the basis of color alone wide variation in social distance might exist. Edward Shils indicates his suspicions about the importance of physical visibility as a means of in-group--out-group identification.

> Self-identification by color has its origins in the sense of primordial connection with which human beings find it difficult to dispense. . . . Self-identification by color seems to entail some reference to a common biological origin that is thought to establish ties of affinity, sometimes obligation and solidarity among those who share it, and of separation from those who do not. In its crudest form, it denies the membership of those of other color in the same species.[25]

Shils further notes that nationalism and religion have been able to break down ethnicity and kinship attachments, but throughout history "There is, however, a major primordial property that has been very reluctant to yield its sacredness to attenuation. That is color."[26]

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[24]Kenneth Little, "Some Aspects of Color, Class, and Culture in Britain," in Daedalus, No. 2, XCVI (Spring, 1967), 518.

[25]Edward Shils, "Color, the Universal Intellectual Community, and the Afro-Asian Intellectual," Daedalus, No. 2, XCVI (Spring, 1967), 281-282.

[26]Ibid., p. 283.

Myrdal recognized the role of visibility by color as it related to the American Negro.

> The American order of color caste has even more directly stamped the Negro class system by including relative whiteness as one of the main factors determining status within the Negro community. This has a history as old as class stratification itself among Negroes. Mixed bloods have always been preferred by the whites in practically all respects. They made better appearance to the whites and were assumed to be mentally more capable.[27]

The significant point in Myrdal's statements is that whites have preferred the more Caucasian looking mixed bloods. In other words, the more nearly like themselves in visible physical appearance the Negro was, the more he was preferred by whites. The effects of this white preference were then felt in the norms and values of Negro class stratification.

John Dollard is extremely pointed in evaluating the importance of physical features in American social interactions.

> American caste is pinned not to cultural but to biological features--to color, features, hair form, and the like. This badge is categorical regardless of the social value of the individual. It is in this sense that caste is 'undemocratic' since it accepts an arbitrary token as a means of barring Negroes from equal opportunity and equal recognition of social merit. (See D. Young, American Minority Peoples (New York, 1932), pp. 580-581.) Negroid body form was at one time a mark of a Negro culture and is still to some degree a mark of an inferior assimilation of white culture; but both of these differentiating marks of Negroes are

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[27]Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Vol. II (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 695-696.

> rapidly diminishing and in the course of time the physical stigmata may be left isolated as the only warrant of caste difference. The cultural stigmata of the past seem likely to disappear altogether.[28]

C. Eric Lincoln further comments on the effects of physical visibility in American social relations.

> In the United States where the enduring problem in social relations is between whites and Negroes, skin color is probably the most important single index for uncritical human evaluation. . . In social relations in the United States, color is often read as a signal to denigrate, to discriminate, to segregate. It takes on the characteristics of a cultural norm, so much so that a complex of rewards, punishments, and the strictest taboos have grown up around it. . . . That a racial determination on the basis of color can only be approximate and for a limited spectrum of individuals at best does not seem to impair its credibility as a legitimate index for human evaluation. Nor does it seem to diminish the <u>need</u> for identifying persons by race.[29]

Lincoln concludes somewhat despondently that:

> Charles Silberman is probably right: 'Consciousness of color is not likely to disappear unless color itself disappears, or unless men lose their eyesight.' But consciousness of color, like consciousness of kind, is not a reasonable basis upon which to project a system of group relations. Nor has it ever been.[30]

Our hypothesis suggests that in American society visible physical differences between the members of groups do in fact have much to do with the society's system of group relations. In the context of American culture, <u>the greater the visible physical difference between two groups,</u>

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[28]Dollard, p. 63.

[29]C. Eric Lincoln, "Color and Group Identity in the United States," <u>Daedalus</u>, No. 2, XCVI (Spring, 1967), 52.

[30]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 540, quoting Silberman, <u>Crisis in Black and White</u> (New York: 1964), p. 166.

the less the preference for intimate contact with members of the other group.

Hubert M. Blalock devotes a chapter of his recent book Toward A Theory of Minority-Group Relations to "Status Consciousness, Prejudice, and Avoidance Behavior." He suggests in this chapter that persons may differ in the degree to which they are motivated to engage in intimate contact (or reject) other persons or groups "primarily in terms of status considerations and, more specifically, with respect to tendencies to reject those with statuses lower than their own."[31] He concludes that "the lower the average status of the minority group, the greater the expected status loss to any members of the dominant group engaging in equal-status contacts with the minority."[32] Since individuals wish to avoid loss of status, they will tend to avoid intimate contact with members of groups which they perceive to be lower in status than their own.

Based on Blalock's proposition we hypothesize that the lower the perceived socio-economic status of a group, the less the preference for association with that group.[33]

The economic ethic in American society is based on the principle that one who competes successfully will reap rewards in accordance with his willingness, skill, and

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[31]Blalock, p. 52. [32]Ibid., p. 64.

[33]This hypothesis has already been verified in Hawaii by Masuoka (1931) and Samuels (1963).

persistence in competition. As Myrdal has put it:

> The American Creed does not demand equality of economic and social rewards independent of an individual's luck, ability, and push. It merely demands equality of opportunity. . . . Our value premise in this chapter will be the American ideal of free competition and full integration. . . (His emphasis).[34]

Myrdal goes on to point out that while free competition on an individual basis is the ideal, competition within the context of certain racial-ethnic group exclusions is the fact. As a result, in American society individuals competing strictly as individuals is merely an ideal; in fact, racially and/or ethnically defined groups of individuals compete with similarly defined groups for both the opportunities and the status rewards of competition. An individual's socio-economic status--even his very livelihood--depends upon the outcome of this competition. It is not surprising, therefore, that such competition can arouse intense anxieties, fears, and hostilities.

Young notes that: "Group antagonisms seem to be inevitable when two peoples in contact with one another may be distinguished by differentiating characteristics, either inborn or cultural, and are actual or potential competitors."[35] (His emphasis.)

Looking at the same problem from a different angle, Watson found that "Retirement from active participation in

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[34]Myrdal, pp. 671-672.

[35]Donald Young, American Minority Peoples (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932), p. 586 as cited in Williams, Reduction of Inter-Group Tensions, pp. 54-55.

a competitive society predisposes one to greater tolerance of outgroup members."[36]

On the basis of these indications, we hypothesize that given direct economic competition between groups, the more intense the competition is perceived to be, the less the preference for association between the groups and the greater the degree of hostility expressed between the groups.

Robin Williams observes that:

> It seems generally agreed among serious students of American society that our culture places a rather extraordinary stress upon competition for distributive values. The 'competitive' motif is not merely a matter of such competition being permitted; rather, the striving for 'success' is positively injoined to such an extent that in many areas and classes it approaches the status of a culturally obligatory pattern.[37] (Emphasis added.)

As noted by Myrdal previously and by Williams above, achieved status is the American ideal. When it is perceived that an individual or group makes status gains through means other than competitive achievement, we can expect that individual or group and the system which provides or allows the alternate means to be subject to ridicule. Therefore, we predict that if a group in American society is perceived to make economic and/or status gains through means other than what is defined as open, "fair" competition, then that group and the system aiding that group will be subject to derogation by the members of other groups in the society.

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[36] Jeanne Watson, "Some Social and Psychological Situations Related to Change in Attitude," Human Relations, III (February, 1950), 30.

[37] Williams, Reduction of Inter-Group Tensions, p. 55.

## 4. Summary of the Hypotheses

The basic assumption: Individuals conceive of themselves as belonging to certain groups. Although the criteria for group membership vary from society to society, and within societies, consciousness of certain we-group memberships and a logically necessary others-groups environment is universal.

1. There will be greatest preference for intimate contact with members of one's own group.
2. The greater the frequency and intimacy of contact, the greater the mutual preference for association.
3. The greater the visible physical difference, the less the mutual preference for association.
4. The lower the perceived SES of a group, the lower the preference for that group.
5. The more intense the perceived competition between groups, the less the mutual preference and the greater the mutual hostility.
6. If a group is perceived to violate the norm of "fair competition", then that group and the system aiding it will be subject to derogation by the other groups in the society.

# CHAPTER IV

## METHODS

### 1. Selection of the Samples For Interviews

Twenty-five whites from Princeton and twenty-five Indians from Indian Township were interviewed between June 18 and July 13, 1968. Both samples were probability samples,[1] but due to varying community organization they were selected in quite different ways.

Princeton was divided in half down the center of its main thoroughfare, Route 1. Starting from the bridge adjacent to Indian Township every fifth house on either side of the dividing line was selected. Houses on side streets were also counted and every fifth one included in the sample. As a result of this process, 47 houses throughout the town were selected.[2] Since absences and refusals

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[1]The samples were not strictly random, i.e., there was a certain amount of pre-determination in the selection. It can be said of the samples that each was chosen on a basis designed to give a wide and unbiased coverage of the two groups.

[2]This figure indicates that most of the homes in which Princeton's 829 people live were included in selection of the sample.

47---The pre-selected sample
x 5---every fifth house chosen
235---total number of homes
x 3.5-Estimated number of occupants of each home--
822.5 3.54 is the mean family size while the median household has 3 members according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Families.

were expected to total at least fifty percent, the twenty-five interviews to be gathered were expected to exhaust the pre-selected sample. Thus, the full geographic length and breadth of Princeton would be covered. In fact, when the end of the pre-selected sample was reached six interviews were still required to fill the quota of twenty-five. These six were obtained by randomly picking from the pre-selected houses at which no one had been home the first time the interviewer had called.

There are approximately 35 dwellings inhabited by Indians in Indian Township. The sample was selected by contacting (or, attempting to contact) at least one person from every house inhabited by an Indian. It is important to note that this does not imply that the sample was to include one person from each Indian family. Community style of life and living space shortages mean that in some cases fifteen people comprising two or three nuclear families occupy one four room house. Cases of uncertain parentage, children being passed from house to house among relatives and friends, and an overall volatile housing situation within the community complicate one's understanding of tribal genealogy and housing.[3] Many of the

(Washington, D.C., 1963), pp. 21 and 168. The 823 estimate comes very close to Princeton's 1960 population of 829.

[3]George LaPorte, a psychologist working on a summer remedial program for Passamaquoddy students while data for this research were being collected, informed me that several summers before a student had attempted to construct a tribal genealogy. She ultimately gave up having been frustrated by the factors mentioned above.

interviews did not take place inside a particular individual's current residence because potential respondents were often more readily available and willing elsewhere. This notwithstanding, the attempt to obtain an interview from one person living in each home remained the guide for selection of the Indian sample.

2. Development of the Research Instruments

A visit to the Princeton-Indian Township area about two months before the field research began resulted in a number of guidelines for design of the research instruments. The overriding conclusion growing out of informal conversations and limited pre-test of an interview schedule was that simplicity must be a major consideration in the research instruments. On this basis a Bogardus-type social distance questionnaire which had been designed to be filled out by the respondent in the pre-test schedule was adapted to require only verbal questions by the interviewer. The interviewer would then record the respondent's replies. Any type of self-administered questionnaire was ruled out.

In addition, whereas the pre-test schedule had employed the names of twelve racial-ethnic groups selected from the original Bogardus questionnaire, experience showed that due to isolation and complete lack of contact a number of the twelve groups were entirely without meaning to respondents. Respondents could not comment on groups about which they knew virtually nothing. As a result, the number of groups was reduced to six; Americans (U.S. White),

French Canadians, Indians (American), Jews, Negroes, and Orientals (Japanese and Chinese). These six were judged to be the most easily and significantly differentiated as racial-ethnic groups by members of both the white and Indian populations.[4]

Finally, the need for flexibility and probing when using qualitative inquiries became very obvious. Rather than attempting to list rigidly all approaches and probing techniques which might be applied to each question in the interview schedule, a general policy of adjusting interviewing technique to the particular respondent was designated to be the rule. Especially in the case of data on stereotypes, emphasis was placed on getting as much relevant information as possible by creating an informal conversation atmosphere rather than adhering to a highly structured series of precisely worded questions.

### 3. The Interview Schedule

The interview schedule was the prime data gathering instrument.[5] Essentially the same schedule was administered to both the Indian and white populations with only minor wording changes appropriate to the respondent's group membership. The schedule can be broken down into two main components: a section aimed at quantitative measurement of social distance, and a section aimed at qualitative

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[4]The original list follows: Americans (U.S. White), Canadians (English), Chinese, Filipinos, French Canadians, Indians (American), Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Negroes.

[5]All data gathering tools used in this study are found in Appendix IV.

assessment of the attitudes and beliefs of the two populations.

The first quantitative measurement is of perceived socioeconomic status. The goal of this measurement was to find out how each respondent perceived the relative socio-economic status of the six groups. The respondent was asked to place six cards, randomly spread before him and each with the name of a racial-ethnic group on it, in rank order according to his perception of their relative wealth (money) and influence (power). The response was recorded by simply numbering the groups in the order in which the respondent placed them. Thus, the range of the scores runs from one through six; one indicating the highest perceived socio-economic status and six the lowest perceived socioeconomic status. The mean scores for each of the six groups are computed for both the Indian and white samples. Thus, there is an indication of how the two populations as a whole each perceive the socio-economic status of the six racial-ethnic groups.

The second quantitative measurement is of attitudes of preference for association. The respondent was given a single card with the names of the six groups on it. (The groups were in alphabetical order with every group appearing at the top of the list every sixth interview. The groups, therefore, changed position on the list to avoid any bias which might be inherent in a set order.) The respondent was then asked a series of seven questions

ranging from "Which of these groups would you marry or approve of your children marrying into?" to "Which groups would you not allow in your country?'. The interviewer checked the responses on a grid as they were given.

The scoring ranges from one through seven; one indicating the greatest attitudes of preference for association with a group (i.e., marriage), while seven indicated least preference (or exclusion from the country). In each case the lowest number checked is the respondent's score for that group.[6] The mean scores for each of the six racial-ethnic groups are computed for both the Indian and white samples. The lower the mean score, the greater the collective attitudes of preference for association with a group; and, conversely, the greater the mean score, the less the preference for association with a group.

The third quantitative measurement is that of contact. Contact is measured in four situations ranging roughly in degree of intimacy from work contacts through contacts by marriage within the family. Respondents were asked if they had contacts with other groups at work, if their children went to school with other groups, if their neighbors were of other groups, and if there had been

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[6] In cases in which the respondent answered inconsistently, (e.g., yes on would marry, no on close friend, and yes on heighbor), the mean between the two "yes" scores was his score for that group, e.g., in the example above the score would be two, falling between one and three. In the white sample, 94.33 percent of the responses recorded were in the expected Guttman scale order. For the Indian sample, 91.07 percent of the responses recorded were in the expected Guttman scale order.

intermarriage between members of their family and other groups. The groups with which they had had contact in the various situations were listed and the respondents were then asked to evaluate the favorability of the contact with each group in each situation. The interviewer ranked the respondent's evaluation in terms of favorable (1), not good--not bad (2), and unfavorable (3).

Out of the raw contact data the following information can be obtained:

1. A frequency of contact score for each of the six groups equal to the total number of contacts the sample population has with each group in all of the four contact situations;
2. A total favorability of contact score for each of the six groups equal to the mean score of favorability of all contacts with a group (favorability ranging from one indicating favorable contact through three indicating unfavorable contact--the lower the score, the more favorable the overall contact);
3. Intimacy of contact as represented by the four contact situations allowing further insight into situations in which most contacts with a particular group occur.

Reported frequency and favorability[7] of contact

[7]Due primarily to the small number of contacts reported, the value of the favorability data was questioned and it was dispensed with in the final analysis.

with each group in each contact situation is available to be applied in analysis.

The first series of qualitative questions was aimed at discovering stereotypes predominantly held by Indians and whites. This was done using open-ended questions. It should be noted that emphasis was placed on flexibility of approach and probing when using these questions. Although the basic inquiry "How would you describe _____" or "What are _____like" was used, alteration in wording and approach were used in order to elicit the most complete response possible in each case. It is significant to note here, for example, that when interviewing an Indian it was not very fruitful to ask how he would describe whites as the first question in this section. It was uncomfortable for the interviewer to suddenly, in essence, ask what the Indian respondent thought of him. Instead, it was better to ask about other groups first leading up to the Indian respondent's feelings about whites as a logical extension of the conversation concerning other groups.

A series of questions on self-image were asked in an attempt to get the respondent's general outlook on his situation in the community. Questions were asked with reference to the past, the present, and the future for the individual and his group. Again, flexibility was the key to successful technique. This series of questions also proved to be another avenue by which to approach specific

incidents involving relations between Indians and whites.

A section of questions on general policy was included in an effort to gain insight into issues relevant to Indians' and whites' perceptions of one another and their resulting attitudes and behavior. Specifically, attitudes toward reservation living and government aid were sought.

Finally, background variables including sex, age. occupation, income, education, and religion were recorded. Tables describing these characteristics of the sampled populations (if not included in the text) are found in Appendix I.

4. Interview Observation Schedule

An observation schedule designed to organize systematically and help recall the living conditions of each respondent was attached to the back of every interview schedule. It should be emphasized that no precise conclusions were either expected or intended as a result of data collected by this instrument. Rather, it was intended merely to draw attention to particular things in the home which might offer clues to each respondent's style of life and, overall, the similarities and differences in the living conditions of the Indian and white populations. The schedule took very little time to fill out immediately after leaving each respondent, but by heightening the interviewer's awareness of the surroundings aided greatly

in piecing together impressions and recalling specific remarks by individuals.

### 5. Contact Observation Schedule

This instrument was adapted from Robin Williams' Cornell Studies.[8] Its purpose here, as in Williams' work, was to observe systematically and record contact and interaction between groups. Again, no conclusive insights were expected as a result of this record because as one individual living in the research area for a very limited period of time I could not hope to observe a great amount of intergroup contact. On the other hand, the schedule did serve as a guide in carefully recording in detail the significant aspects of all contact that could be observed.

### 6. Field Routine

A brief word should be said about the routine of data collection. A typical day consisted of securing about three interviews between the hours of ten in the morning and four in the afternoon. After supper at my campsite I would sit by the fire with a portable tape recorder and expand on the notes I had taken during the interviews, dictating exact quotes as nearly as I could recall them. In addition, I filled in observation schedules and took notes on other events during the day which I felt were relevant to my research.

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[8] See Robin M. Williams, Strangers Next Door (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), Appendix E, pp. 413-419.

# CHAPTER V

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this chapter the data relevant to each hypothesis will be presented. The hypotheses will be discussed in the order formulated in Chapter III with no attempt at this point to establish important interrelationships between findings uncovered by each separate test. A discussion of the results, integrated and taken as a whole, follows in Chapter VI.

### 1. In-Group Preference

Hypothesis I states that there will be greatest preference for intimate contact with members of one's own group. This was tested by measuring the preference for association by whites for five other groups and by Indians for five other groups using a Bogardus-type social distance scale. The mean preference for association scores for both white and Indian samples indicate that individuals in each group tend to rate their own highest on a scale measuring degrees in intimacy of association. (See Table 4 on page 65.) Whites rated themselves with a mean score of 1.00 while rating Negroes last of the six groups with a mean of 2.20. Indians also rated their own group first with a mean of 1.28 placing Jews at the bottom in preference for association with a mean of 3.29.

TABLE 4

PREFERENCE FOR ASSOCIATION: RANK ORDER AND MEAN SCORES FOR EACH SAMPLE

| White Sample[a] | | | Indian Sample[b] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rank Order | Group | Mean Score | Rank Order | Group | Mean Score |
| 1 | White Americans | 1.00 | 1 | Indians | 1.28 |
| 2 | French Canadians | 1.32 | 2 | White Americans | 1.60 |
| 3 | Jews | 1.96 | 3 | Negroes | 2.58 |
| 4 | Indians | 2.00 | 4 | French Canadians | 2.87 |
| 5 | Orientals | 2.16 | 5 | Orientals | 3.00 |
| 6 | Negroes | 2.20 | 6 | Jews | 3.29 |

[a] N=25

[b] N=25

A noteworthy difference between whites and Indians is that in every case a white respondent assigned his own group the most intimate preference category, while there were some Indians who did not assign the highest possible preference for association to their own group. An analysis of the five cases in which Indians were not indicated in the "would marry or approve of my children marrying" category brings these anomalies into perspective.

Two respondents were females, age 30 to 40, who were already married to non-Indians.[1] Two others were

[1] These two respondents proved to be particularly interesting cases and did, therefore, receive some additional attention in the research. For a further discussion, see Appendix III on the "marginal man".

young, unmarried males between 15 and 20, one of whom expressed a desire to marry an oriental because he had heard that "orientals make good wives". The other boy said he would only want to marry a white girl with no reason given. The fifth case was an unmarried male between 30 and 40 who worked for Georgia-Pacific Paper Company. His interview indicated an unusual degree of status consciousness and desire for upward mobility--traits also reflected in his wish to marry only a white woman, or in his words, "I'd rather marry out."

In general then, the findings conform to the expectations of the first hypothesis.

## 2. Frequency-Intimacy of Contact and Preference for Association

Hypothesis II predicts that the greater the frequency and intimacy of contact, the greater the preference for association. Data to test this hypothesis were assembled by comparing each individual's preference for association with members of an out-group against an index of his frequency and intimacy of contact with that group. Data for the index were collected by asking respondents what groups, other than their own, they (their husbands or their children) came in contact with at work, in school, as neighbors, or through marriage in their families. The index was compiled by weighting the four categories of contact according to degree of intimacy. Work was scored one, school two, neighbors three, and marriage four. The overall score

for each group was made equal to the sum of the weighted categories that the respondent indicated for that group. Thus, if a respondent indicated he had contact with French Canadians at work and as neighbors his index score for that group would be work (1) plus neighbors (3) equalling 4. The greater the score, the greater the frequency and intimacy of contact.[2]

The frequency-intimacy of contact scores for each group in both the white and Indian samples were then dichotomized into categories of high and low. The cutting point for each dichotomy was the point at which the greatest degree of balance of cases in each category could be attained. Similarly, within each sample the preference for association scores for each group were dichotomized into high and low categories at the point which yielded the most balanced dichotomy.

Finally, each individual in both samples was categorized according to his frequency-intimacy of contact with each group (high or low) and his preference for association (high or low) with that group, thus yielding a set of five 2 by 2 contingency tables for each sample. A total table for each sample was constructed by collapsing the results for each of the five "others-groups" that white and Indian respondents were asked about in their interviews.

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[2]The rationale for this scoring is based on research by Bogardus on social distance. See his articles: Emory S. Bogardus, "A Social Distance Scale," Sociology and Social Research, XVII (January, 1933), 265-271, and "Race Friendliness and Social Distance," Journal of Applied Sociology, XI (January, 1927), 272-287.

The 2 by 2 tables and the total tables for each sample appear on pages 69 and 70.

The overall results for the sample of whites indicate a very slight association of no statistical significance between white individuals' frequency-intimacy of contact with out-groups and their preference for association with them. There is no strong evidence in the white sample to give the hypothesis positive support, i.e., there is little association between frequency--intimacy of contact and preference for association.

Turning to the Indian sample, the results show an overall moderate association between contact and preference that is statistically significant at the .02 level. In this case there is some positive support for the hypothesis, i.e., in the case of the Indian sample frequency and intimacy of contact is positively related to the degree of preference for association. Also, there are relatively few cases in which high contact and low preference occur together (whites five times, French Canadians four, Negroes three, and Jews once).

It is important to note the relative concentration of cases in the low contact side of that dimension in the total tables for both samples. This is a reflection of the isolation of both whites and Indians in Washington County, Maine. The overall white proportion of high frequency-intimacy of contact was 24, the number categorized low was 101. The overall Indian proportion along the same dimension

TABLE 5

WHITE SAMPLE

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN FREQUENCY-INTIMACY OF CONTACT AND PREFERENCE FOR ASSOCIATION

White Frequency-Intimacy of Contact With

**Indians**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preference for Association | Hi | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| | Lo | 8 | 8 | 16 |
| | | 12 | 13 | 25 |

Q=-.111

**French Canadians**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 7 | 11 | 18 |
| | Lo | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| | | 7 | 18 | 25 |

Q=1.00

**Jews**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 0 | 12 | 12 |
| | Lo | 1 | 12 | 13 |
| | | 1 | 24 | 25 |

Q=-1.00

**Negroes**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preference for Association | Hi | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| | Lo | 2 | 15 | 17 |
| | | 3 | 22 | 25 |

Q=.034

**Orientals**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 0 | 10 | 10 |
| | Lo | 1 | 14 | 15 |
| | | 1 | 24 | 25 |

Q=-1.00

**All Groups Combined**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 12 | 45 | 57 |
| | Lo | 12 | 56 | 68 |
| | | 24 | 101 | 125 |

Q=.109

$X^2$=.232

NS

78

69

TABLE 6

INDIAN SAMPLE

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN FREQUENCY-INTIMACY OF CONTACT AND PREFERENCE FOR ASSOCIATION

Indian Frequency-Intimacy of Contact With

**Whites**

| Preference for Association | Hi | Hi: 9 | Lo: 6 | 15 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| | | 14 | 11 | 25 |

Q=.200

**French Canadians**

| Preference for Association | Hi | Hi: 9 | Lo: 1 | 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 4 | 9 | 13 |
| | | 13 | 10 | 23 |

Q=.906

**Jews**

| Preference for Association | Hi | Hi: 3 | Lo: 8 | 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 1 | 9 | 10 |
| | | 4 | 17 | 21 |

Q=.528

**Negroes**

| Preference for Association | Hi | Hi: 5 | Lo: 9 | 14 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| | | 8 | 16 | 24 |

Q=.129

**Orientals**

| Preference for Association | Hi | Hi: 1 | Lo: 10 | 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 0 | 12 | 12 |
| | | 1 | 22 | 23 |

Q=1.00

**All Groups Combined**

| Preference for Association | Hi | Hi: 27 | Lo: 34 | 61 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 13 | 42 | 55 |
| | | 40 | 76 | 116 |

Q=.439

$X^2$=5.45

p .02

was 40 high and 76 low. Therefore, one might infer that the Indians are more cosmopolitan than whites, i.e., a greater proportion of Indians have had greater frequency-intimacy of contact with other groups. This can be explained by two factors. First, more individual Indians have "high" frequency-intimacy scores because more Indians than whites have intermarried with other groups (particularly Indians have married whites and French Canadians). Second, one informant told me that in the past Negroes had been among the members of community service groups which come to work on the reservation during the summer. Thus, many Indians have actually had relatively greater frequency-intimacy of contact with Negroes than most whites in Princeton.

### 3. Visible Physical Difference and Preference for Association

Hypothesis III states that the greater the visible physical difference, the less the preference for association with another group. The first step in testing this hypothesis involved setting up a scale of relative visible physical difference between all combinations of the six groups about which attitudes were sought in the study. The scale was constructed on the basis of my observation and "common sense" judgment about the groups' general physical characteristics.

White Americans, French Canadians and Jews fell into a category of relatively little visible physical difference. It was felt that it is relatively difficult

to distinguish between members of these three groups on the basis of physical traits such as complexion or facial features.

Negroes and Orientals fell into a category of great visible physical difference--both between one another and the three "white" groups: white Americans, French Canadians and Jews.

The Indian, as a group, fell into a category of moderate visible physical difference when compared to the other five. My observations of Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine revealed that many are very close to whites in physical appearance. This is, of course, due in part to racial mixing; but even many alleged full-blooded Indians of the Tribe looked quite Caucasian. On the other hand, there were some with decidedly Negroid complexions and slight Negroid features. One respondent told me a story of how her husband used to get along exceptionally well with a group of Negroes they met while potato picking because the Negroes thought he was, in her words, "one of them". Finally, the oriental cast of the Indian, attesting to his Mongoloid origins, is definitely evident in many Passamaquoddy.[3]

A graphic presentation of the physical visibility relationships appears below.

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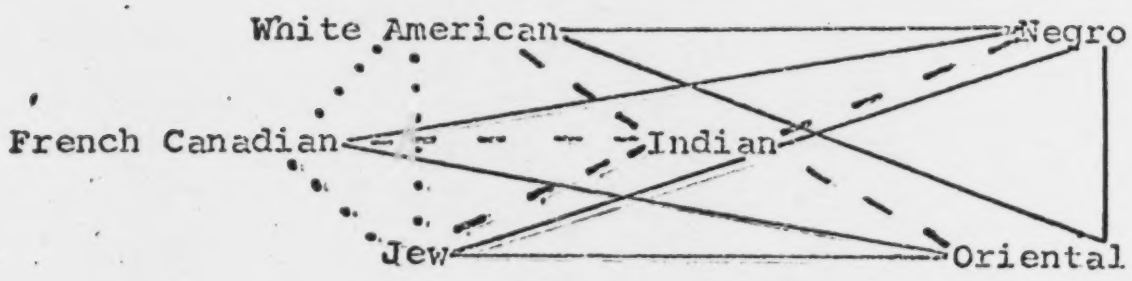
[3]For a brief discussion of theories of the American Indian's Mongoloid origins, see Peter Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization, pp. 225-227.

Figure 1

Visible Physical Differences Among the Six Groups




..... little visible physical difference
– – – – – moderate visible physical difference
——— great visible physical difference

Taking the white sample first, we would expect according to the operationalized hypothesis that the least difference in preference would be between white Americans, French Canadians and Jews. (Consistent with Hypothesis I we would expect white Americans to choose themselves first.)

The expectation is compared with the results of the preference for association scale below.

TABLE 7

EXPECTED AND OBSERVED RESULTS IN THE TEST OF HYPOTHESIS III FOR THE WHITE SAMPLE

| | Expected Order of Preference | Observed Order of | Mean Score |
|---|---|---|---|
| Least Difference | White American | White American | 1.00 |
| | French Canadian | French Canadian | 1.32 |
| | Jews | Jews | 1.96 |
| Moderate Difference | Indian | Indian | 2.00 |
| Greatest Difference | Oriental | Oriental | 2.16 |
| | Negro | Negro | 2.20 |

The rank order correlation between the expected order and the observed order is a perfect 1.00. The results indicate that there is a high correlation between the degree of visible physical difference between whites and other groups and the preference for association whites in the sample express for the other groups.

Expectations for the Indians' preferences for association based on physical difference are somewhat different. We would first expect the Indian to place himself first in preference for association based on the predictions of Hypothesis I. But since the Indian has been placed in a category of moderate visible physical difference between himself and each of the other groups, we would predict that the other groups will be placed in random order without respect to visible physical difference. Since the Indian, as a group, falls in between all of the other groups it is predicted that as a group Indians' preference for association with other groups would be ordered without reference to their physical differences from him, or between one another.

The expectations and observed results appear below.

TABLE 8

EXPECTED AND OBSERVED RESULTS IN THE TEST OF HYPOTHESIS III FOR THE INDIAN SAMPLE

| Expected Order of Preference | Observed Order of Preference | Mean Score |
|---|---|---|
| Indian, followed by a random order without respect to visible physical difference or similarity. | Indian | 1.28 |
| | White American | 1.60 |
| | Negro | 2.58 |
| | French Canadian | 2.87 |
| | Oriental | 3.00 |
| | Jew | 3.29 |

Although no rank order was predicted in this case, one can see that, as a group, persons in the Indian sample were not particularly guided by consistency of visible physical appearance as a factor contributing to preference for association. Negroes interject between white Americans and French Canadians while Orientals come between French Canadians and Jews. As predicted, because of the Indians' more "neutral" position in the visible physical appearance scheme of things, he is "neutral" in the way he selects his preference for association according to physical criteria.

Therefore, overall the results are positive confirming the hypothesis. Where visible physical difference is great, there is less preference for association while similar physical appearance is apparently associated with greater preference for association. Where visible physical difference is moderate and somewhat equal between groups,

it becomes a negligible factor in predicting relative preference for association.

### 4. Perceived Socio-Economic Status and Preference for Association

'Hypothesis IV reads the lower the perceived socio-economic status of a group, the lower the preference for that group. To test this hypothesis a procedure was followed similar to that used in testing Hypothesis II. Each individual's preference for association with members of another group was compared with his perception of that group's socio-economic status. Relative perception of socio-economic status was derived by asking the respondent to order cards, each bearing the name of one of the six groups, according to how he thought the groups were doing in terms of money, power and influence.[4] The groups were scored from 1 (highest SES) through 6 (lowest SES).

The scores of perceived socio-economic status for each group in both the white and Indian samples were then dichotomized into high and low categories. The cutting points for each dichotomy were based on the point at which the number of cases in the two categories were most nearly equal. The preference for association scores for each group were also dichotomized into high and low categories at the point which yielded the most balanced dichotomy.

Each individual in both samples was then tabulated according to his rating of socio-economic status for each

[4]Ties would have been permitted in the individual rankings, but in no case in which a respondent answered this question did he suggest that two or more groups might be ranked equally.

out-group (high or low) and his preference for association (high or low) with each group, thus yielding five 2 by 2 contingency tables for each sample. Again, a total table for each sample was compiled by collapsing the results for each of the five others-groups that white and Indian respondents rated in their interviews. The 2 by 2 tables and the total tables for each sample appear on pages 78 and 79.

The results in the white sample indicate very low associations between perception of socio-economic status and preference for association. In the table showing all groups combined the cell frequencies are quite evenly balanced giving a Q association of .130. Thus with regard to the white sample we must record a definite negative finding.

The Indian sample, on the other hand, provides some evidence in favor of the original hypothesis. As can be seen from the total table, there is a moderate, statistically significant association between perceived socio-economic status and preference for association. The Q association of .305 is significant at only the .20 level. The result is not, therefore, very conclusive; at the very best a slight tendency as predicted in the original hypothesis is indicated.

The results from the two samples, therefore, indicate that whites' perceptions of SES and preference for association are <u>not</u> significantly related to one another, while in the case of Indians samples perception of SES and

TABLE 9

WHITE SAMPLE

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN PERCEIVED SES AND PREFERENCE FOR ASSOCIATION

White Perceived SES of

**Indians**

| Preference for Association | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| | Lo | 7 | 8 | 15 |
| | | 10 | 12 | 22 |

Q=-.077

**French Canadians**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 7 | 8 | 15 |
| | Lo | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| | | 11 | 11 | 22 |

Q=.208

**Jews**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| | Lo | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| | | 14 | 8 | 22 |

Q=.250

**Negroes**

| Preference for Association | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| | Lo | 7 | 10 | 17 |
| | | 9 | 13 | 22 |

Q=-.024

**Orientals**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| | Lo | 4 | 10 | 14 |
| | | 8 | 14 | 22 |

Q=.429

**All Groups Combined**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 23 | 22 | 45 |
| | Lo | 29 | 36 | 65 |
| | | 52 | 58 | 110 |

Q=.130

$X^2$=.450

NS

TABLE 10

INDIAN SAMPLE

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN PERCEIVED SES AND PREFERENCE FOR ASSOCIATION

Indian Perceived SES
Of

**Whites**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preference for Association | Hi | 10 | 5 | 15 |
| | Lo | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| | | 18 | 6 | 24 |

Q=-.600

**French Canadians**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| | Lo | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| | | 10 | 11 | 21 |

Q=.286

**Jews**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 9 | 1 | 10 |
| | Lo | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| | | 11 | 7 | 18 |

Q=.929

**Negroes**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preference for Association | Hi | 4 | 10 | 14 |
| | Lo | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| | | 10 | 12 | 22 |

Q=-.765

**Orientals**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| | Lo | 1 | 8 | 9 |
| | | 8 | 10 | 18 |

**All Groups Combined**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 36 | 23 | 59 |
| | Lo | 21 | 23 | 44 |
| | | 57 | 46 | 103 |

Q=.305

$X^2$=1.80

p .20

preference for association are moderately associated at a fairly low level of significance according to the predictions of the original hypothesis.

### 5. Perceived Competition and Preference for Association

Hypothesis V deals with somewhat more qualitative variables than the foregoing hypotheses. It states that the more intense the perceived competition between groups, the less the preference for association and the greater the hostility. "Perceived competition between groups" refers to the way in which individuals belonging to different groups feel threatened by one another as they attempt to gain jobs, power and prestige. The test of this hypothesis was, then, to discover what groups were in economic competition in the area; attempt to assess the intensity of the competition; and, record signs of hostility between groups. Preference for association, as expressed in the populations' samples, could be later compared with these findings.

There were three groups in the Princeton area subject to observation: white Americans, French Canadians and Indians. All of the individuals from these three groups were theoretically competing for a limited number of jobs.[5] With a County-wide unemployment rate of around 11 percent,[6]

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[5]The other groups about which attitudes were measured in the white and Indian populations were never indicated as competitors in the area because, as reflected in the lack of contact whites and Indians had with them, Jews, Negroes and Orientals were virtually non-existent in Washington County.

[6]Manpower Resources in Washington County, p. 4.

numerous comments by both whites and Indians that jobs were at a premium seemed justified. In spite of this, the perceived competition between Indians and whites, from each other's point of view, for these limited jobs was low in light of my expectations. I never recorded, nor do I recall hearing either an Indian or a white making a statement implying perceived economic competition between the two groups.

Also, there did not seem to be the mutual animosity between Indians and whites that one would expect under such depressed economic conditions, notwithstanding the separation of Indian Township from Princeton, language difference, and other cultural barriers. Indians, in fact, showed preference for association with whites only after their own group. Whites placed Indians third in preference after themselves, but on the whole did not express feelings that Indians were a <u>threat</u> to their superior socio-economic status as individuals or a group; nor did they tend to express overt hate or hostility toward Indians.[7]

By the same token, whites did not appear to perceive a great deal of competition between themselves and French Canadians. Most whites who commented on their relationships with French Canadians acknowledged them to

---

[7]There is, here, a distinction between hate or hostility and distaste or desire to avoid association. This becomes apparent in Chapter VI.

be "woods workers" who were employed in lumber camps cutting pulp for the Georgia Pacific paper mill. It was commonly accepted by whites that lumbering operations were the natural domain of French Canadians while their own "place" was to man or supervise the paper making process once the trees were on the wood-hauling trucks. Thus, perceived competition of whites with French Canadians was quite low. Whites placed French Canadians after themselves in preference for association and consistently characterized them in interviews as "hard working", "good fellas", "exceptionally neat and clean in the lumber camps", "skilled at their work", and "They don't speak English, but they earn their own living--not like the Indians."

A few Indians interviewed perceived intesne competition between themselves and French Canadians.[8] This appears to be because Indians generally consider "woods work" to be their natural and rightful employment as well. Particularly with regard to pulp cutting being done on Indian Township, the Passamaquoddy expressed resentment that the paper company was using French Canadian crews. Several Indians engaged in rather lengthy condemnations of French Canadians highlighting the perceived threat of

---

[8]Although most Indians refused to express their feelings about other groups during formal interviews, I am confident that I got an accurate picture of their various attitudes in more informal conversations when I was minus my clipboard and pen. Such relevant conversations were recorded in ink or on tape after the fact.

this group to their upward mobility and the general hostility which resulted. In response to "How would you describe French Canadians?" one Indian male said the following:

> If French Canadians are on a job they'll work other people and the Indians out. The French Canadians give the others a rough time. I've had lots of experience with 'um--when they're on a job they want all Frenchmen. . . .
> It's hard for Indians to get jobs the same as anyone else. It's hard to get jobs before French Canadians. The problem is that we're on the border. The State leases the land to the paper companies and the companies bring in Frenchmen to work. We can't get jobs.

On white Americans the same man said:

> There's good and there's bad. I can only speak well of 'um myself. White bosses have always used me fine.

In response to "What do you think can be done to improve white and Indian relations in this area?" another Indian respondent replied:

> More Indians should be working in the mills. Sometimes a high school diploma is required and this has stopped Indians in the past. French Canadians were hired though only with a fifth-grade education. The problem is discrimination.

Here whites are perceived to be <u>above</u> the competition; they are, instead, privileged to discriminate amongst the competitors.

Therefore, with regard to this hypothesis we must conclude that in cases it was possible to record, intense perceived competition is associated with lowered preference for association and increased hostility. It must, of

course, be acknowledged that these findings only represent the barest indications validating the hypothesis because the only mutual feelings measured were between whites and Indians.

### 6. "Fair Competition" and Economic Gains

Hypothesis VI reads: If a group in American society is perceived to make economic and/or status gains through means other than what is defined as open, "fair competition", then that group and the system aiding that group will be subject to derogation by the other groups in the society. This hypothesis was constructed specifically to deal with whites' perceptions of Indians as "wards of the State" and the whites' subsequent reactions to the Indians and the system that results. However, it was suspected that additional evidence to support (or deny) the hypothesis might come in the form of favorable impressions of groups that were perceived to be competing openly and fairly.

One indication of white attitudes toward Indians receiving aid is in Table 11 on page 85. In response to the question: "Do you think Indians should receive more government aid in education, health, job training and so on?" a small majority of whites answered "no". As one would expect, the vast majority of Indians responded "yes" to this question. On the other hand, in response to the question: "Do you think white people should receive this kind of aid in education, health, job training and so on?"

TABLE 11

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 13 OF THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Do you think Indians should receive more government aid in education, health, job training and so on?

| | Whites | Indians |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 10 | 20 |
| No | 13 | 4 |
| No response | 2 | 1 |

TABLE 12

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 14 OF THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Do you think white people should receive this kind of aid in education, health, job training and so on?

| | White | Indians |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 18 | 16 |
| No | 4 | 8 |
| No response | 3 | 1 |

whites and Indians both tended to answer in the affirmative. (See Table 12 on page 85.) Thus, according to the evidence in these samples, Indians would favor government aid to whites more than whites favor additional aid to Indians.

Attitudes on this issue become clearer when examining interview discussions with whites about government aid to Indians. The following quotes were taken from six different interviews with whites.[9] They are representative of the opinions of the vast majority of white people with whom I talked as part of the interview sample, and of the more informal conversations with others in Princeton.

> Some Indians should receive aid just like whites with large families. But many able bodied Indians get aid and don't work. It makes 'um lazy.
>
> Indians should receive aid if they help themselves. Here they take the aid and don't work.
>
> The Indians should work like everyone else. That's half their trouble--they've been given money too long. . . . Less government aid to the Indians would improve white and Indian relations.
> (The same respondent said) Whites should be given more aid.
>
> The government should stop giving them (Indians) money. They should work if they want to become worthy American citizens. They don't give a hoot if they graduate from school or not--they know the government will take care of them. The older they get, the less they care.
> (The same respondent said) The poor whites should receive this kind of aid.
>
> Indians shouldn't receive more aid. They spend it on liquor--but anyone in real need should receive

[9] Unless indicated otherwise, throughout Chapters V and VI when a series of quotes from respondents are listed relative to a single point, each quote comes from a different respondent. Quotes in each case are chosen as representative of group feelings as I judged them.

> help. Look at George Stevens (an Indian). He has 17 children and refuses State help. That family has the best dressed children and the cleanest house on the Strip.
>
> They (Indians) shouldn't receive more aid. All healthy Indians ought to work. All some want to do 'is raise kids--they get so much money for each kid. That's bad.

While these statements reflect the dominant feeling that "far competition" and the "proper way to live" means working hard for one's prosperity and respect,[10] they do not necessarily reflect any severe condemnation of the Indians or the system which is perceived to support them. Instead, on the part of most white respondents there seemed to be: 1. a distaste for Indian unemployment, drunkenness, and generally very low status; 2. ambivalence about whether Indians are to blame entirely on their own, or whether their condition has been "created" through no particular fault of theirs as a result of dependency on the State over the years; and, 3. a somewhat fatalistic attitude that things have been the same for years and probably won't change in the future.

Therefore, this hypothesis is only mildly supported by the data. It did, however, draw attention to the accommodating attitudes on the part of both whites and Indians which have characterized their relationships over the years. Elaboration on these attitudes, as well as a discussion of the other findings presented in this chapter, are found in Chapter VI.

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[10] Note also the earlier descriptions of French Canadians on p. 83.

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# CHAPTER VI

## DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

### 1. An Analysis of Social Distance--Differences Between the White and Indian Samples

An anlysis of the white sample showed that for individuals in this group preference for association with other racial-ethnic groups is not associated with either frequency-intimacy of contact or perceived socio-economic status. On the other hand, data from Indians interviewed did show moderate associations between preference for association with other racial-ethnic groups and both frequency-intimacy of contact and perceived socio-economic status of the other groups. An additional possible relationship using these three variables is the association between frequency-intimacy of contact and perception of socio-economic status.

Tables 13 and 14 on pages 89 and 90 indicate that in both the white and Indian samples frequency-intimacy of contact with other groups and the perceptions of the others-groups' socio-economic statuses are not significantly associated. In other words, in both samples these two variables are apparently independent of one another. Thus, the findings indicate relationships between the three components of social distance as displayed in the figures below.



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TABLE 13

INDIAN SAMPLE

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN FREQUENCY-INTIMACY OF CONTACT AND PERCEIVED SES

Indian Frequency-Intimacy of Contact
With

**Whites**

| Perceived SES | Hi | Hi 10 | Lo 8 | 18 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| | | 15 | 9 | 24 |

Q=-.600

**French Canadians**

| Perceived SES | Hi | Hi 8 | Lo 4 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| | | 14 | 9 | 23 |

Q=.250

**Jews**

| Perceived SES | Hi | Hi 2 | Lo 9 | 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| | | 4 | 16 | 20 |

Q=-.125

**Negroes**

| Perceived SES | Hi | Hi 2 | Lo 9 | 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| | | 7 | 16 | 23 |

Q=-.525

**Orientals**

| Perceived SES | Hi | Hi 0 | Lo 7 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 0 | 12 | 12 |
| | | 0 | 19 | 19 |

Q=0.00

**All Groups Combined**

| Perceived SES | Hi | Hi 22 | Lo 37 | 59 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lo | 18 | 32 | 50 |
| | | 40 | 69 | 109 |

Q=.028

$X^2$=.019

NS

TABLE 14

WHITE SAMPLE

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN FREQUENCY-INTIMACY OF CONTACT AND PERCEIVED SES

White Frequency-Intimacy of Contact With

**Indians**

| Perceived SES | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| | Lo | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| | | 11 | 11 | 22 |

Q=-.355

**French Canadians**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 3 | 8 | 11 |
| | Lo | 3 | 8 | 11 |
| | | 6 | 16 | 22 |

Q=0.00

**Jews**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 1 | 13 | 14 |
| | Lo | 0 | 8 | 8 |
| | | 1 | 21 | 22 |

Q=1.00

**Negroes**

| Perceived SES | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| | Lo | 1 | 12 | 13 |
| | | 3 | 19 | 22 |

Q=.548

**Orientals**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 0 | 8 | 8 |
| | Lo | 1 | 13 | 14 |
| | | 1 | 21 | 22 |

Q=-1.00

**All Groups Combined**

| | | Hi | Lo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hi | 10 | 41 | 51 |
| | Lo | 12 | 46 | 58 |
| | | 22 | 87 | 109 |

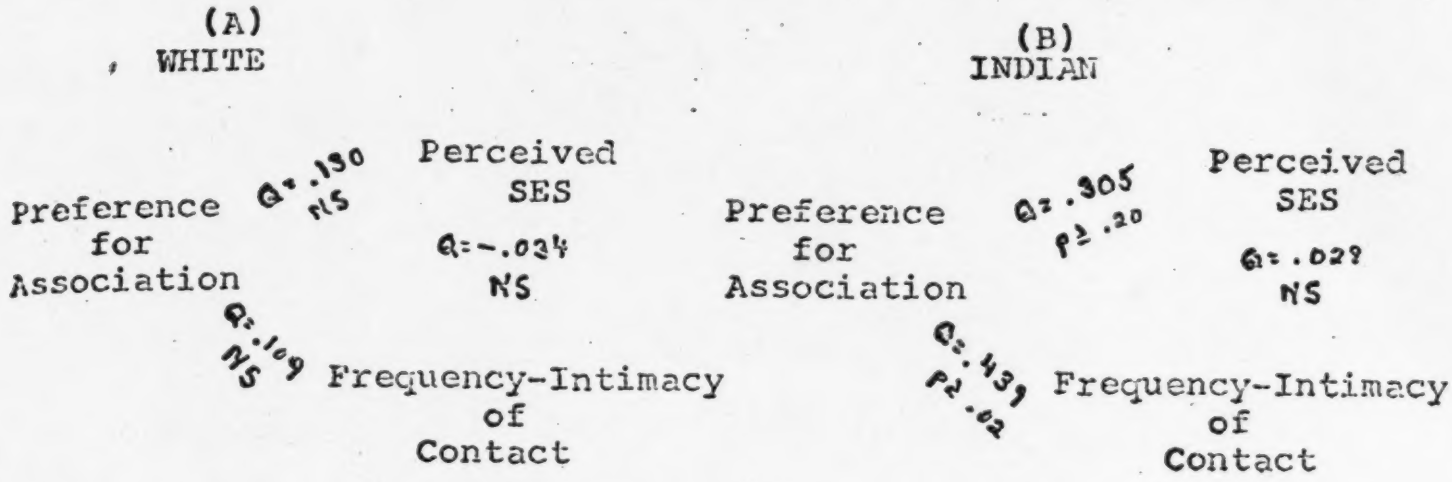
Q=-.034

$X^2$=.020

NS

Figure 2

Association Among the Three Components of Social Distance




In light of these results, the variable of visible physical difference becomes an important factor. In the white sample preference for association and visible physical difference were found to be highly associated. Whites expressed degree of preference for association with other racial-ethnic groups exactly as one would expect using degrees of visible physical difference as the expectation criteria. The Indian sample expressed preference for association according to the expected pattern based on the Indians' ambivalent position with regard to their visible physical difference from the other racial-ethnic groups. Indians in the sample did not, apparently, rely on visible physical differences or similarities in any consistent way as a determinant of preference for association.

This evidence leads to the following conclusions about the differing factors contributing to social distance

among individuals in the white and Indian populations. The primary component of social distance attitudes of preference for association between whites and other racial-ethnic groups is visible physical difference; or, in other words, racial characteristics. The contributing components of social distance attitudes in the Indian sample--between themselves and other groups--were frequency-intimacy of contact, and to a less reliable degree perception of socio-economic status. An additional factor in the Indian sample appeared to be the perceived competition between themselves and the French Canadians; a factor which probably added to lowered preference for association with that group and some hostility expressed toward it.

## 2. The Possibility of Racism

Pierre L. van den Berghe supplies our definition of racism.

> Racism is any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or the absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races. . . . It is not the presence of objective physical differences between groups that creates races, but the social recognition of such differences as socially significant or relevant.[1]

In light of the findings of this research, is it proper to conclude that the white population of Princeton, Maine is racist?

---

[1]Pierre L. van den Berghe, Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), p. 11.

Racism is taken here to include a particular set of attitudes which flow out of cultural norms and values--including norms and values that are held in common throughout a whole society beyond even the specific situations in which they might regularly find application in behavior. In Washington County, Maine, white Americans make judgments about their preference to associate with various out-groups largely on the basis of the norms and values of white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant dominated American culture as a whole.[2] Even though Princeton's whites may have never had contact with Jews, Negroes, or Orientals they are guided in their choices by inner feelings which say this or that characteristic is socially relevant to a judgment about the groups. In this isolated corner of the United States, American culture has imbued white individuals with a high consciousness of racial differences when delineating an acceptable degree of social distance (in terms of preference for association) between themselves and another person.

Passamaquoddy Indian culture, on the other hand, has apparently dictated that its participants largely ignore racial characteristics as a determinant of attitudinal social distance. Race appears to be a socially irrelevant characteristic. The Passamaquoddy instead judged varying degrees of social distance on the basis of other factors including: frequency-intimacy of contact, and (to a less

---

[2]The importance of the Protestant Ethic among Princeton's whites is a residual theme running through data presented in this chapter.

certain degree) perception of socio-economic status and intensity of perceived competition with other groups.

One could charge Princeton's white population as being racist only insofar as respondents in the sample reflected that race was important in determining their predispositions to act, specifically expressed in terms of preference for association. If "By 'racism' we mean the predication of decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group,"[3] then there are no grounds in the findings of this research to declare that white Americans in Princeton are racist. If it is firmly in mind that racism refers to "invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races," no matter what the expression of those distinctions--verbal or behavioral--, then one must conclude that the findings lean toward indications of racism in the white Princeton community.[4]

### 3. Limitations of the Findings

The first major limitation of this research has already been touched upon. The study deals primarily with

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[3]Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 3.

[4]In broadest perspective, this is supported in the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 10. "Race Prejudice has shaped our history decisively; it threatens to affect our future. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II."

attitudes--not behavior.[5] This distinction is important because there is evidence that a person may designate one type of attitude verbally and, when confronted with a particular situation in which that attitude might apply, behave in an entirely different way. Bernard Kutner, et al. found in a study comparing verbal or written responses to questions implying inter-racial contact with the behavior by the same respondents in the actual situation, that ". . . the mode of dealing with a minority group member whose presence 'violates' culturally established norms varies widely. Discriminatory treatment is minimized when challenged in a direct face-to-face situation, but is maximized when proposals to 'violate' group norms are suggested."[6] In the record I kept of contacts I observed between groups while doing the field research, there were no specific incidents or series of incidents that either conflicted with or gave strong support for the generally consistent attitudes expressed in the twenty-five interviews from each population.

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[5]The necessary distinction here is clearly described in R. T. La Piere, "Attitudes Versus Actions," Social Forces, XIII (December 1934), 230-237. "All measurement of attitudes by the questionnaire technique proceeds on the assumption that there is a mechanical relationship between symbolic and non-symbolic behavior. It is simple enough to prove that there is no necessary correlation between speech and action, between response to words and to the realities they symbolize." (p. 231)

[6]B. Kutner, Carol Wilkins, and Penny R. Yarrow, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behavior Involving Racial Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XLVII (July 1952), 651-652.

A second limitation has to do with linguistic problems in cross-cultural research. Sociologist Allen Grimshaw has noted that "there is a growing interest (perhaps it would be more accurate to say a rediscovery of earlier interests) in the sociological meaning of certain aspects of language, particularly speech, behavior."* In a contribution to this revival he pays special attention to language as an obstacle in sociological research, particularly in research across cultural or subcultural boundaries. His observations are pertinent to this report because of the clear possibility of misinterpretation and error inherent in administering and comparing results of essentially the same interview schedule applied to samples from distinctly different subcultures.

Although all respondents interviewed, both Indians and whites, spoke English fluently, the comparability of the data is not beyond question. As Grimshaw notes:

> The total communicative act through which the social researcher attempts to obtain information involves much more than the semantic aspects of lexical selection, syntactical context, and phonological variation. There are, first, a variety of para-linguistic behaviors in tonal, rhythmic and other differentiations within the utterance itself. In addition to the semantic differentiation that can be carried by such variation, we must be attuned to the subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) meanings conveyed by gesture and facial expression. This highly differentiated complexity in communication

*Allen D. Grimshaw, "Sociolinguistics and the Sociologist," The American Sociologist, No. 4, IV (November 1969), 312.

> reflects behavioral norms that are themselves selected by the status of participants in the communicative interaction, by the setting and occasion of interaction, and by its content.**

This problem was anticipated at the outset of the data collection, but pre-testing and visits to the Indian community led to a decision to proceed with the study. Ideally, a great amount of time and effort might have been expended to minimize the contaminating effects of differing Indian and white interpretations of the same interview questions and, even, differing responses to the interview situation. Economic and time restrictions were factors in the failure to explore further the precise depth of this problem.

While the data collection was going on there was a conscious attempt to be alert to communicative breakdowns, yet on no occasion was it obvious to the researcher that the communicative process between himself and the Indian respondents was severely impaired. Nevertheless, the subtlety and complexity of the potential problem does not preclude the possibility that some of the results might be called into question on this basis.

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** Ibid., p. 318. See pp. 319-321 of this article for a bibliography dealing with this issue.

Third, the samples are small.[7] There is always the possible risk that both populations were not, as a group, representative of the total. On the other hand, the selections were made as randomly as possibly under the circumstances.[8] The findings cannot, of course, be generalized beyond the relatively small populations from which the samples were drawn. There is, therefore, a need to replicate the study on a much larger, diversified scale in order to confirm the study's conclusions beyond the boundaries of Princeton and Indian Township.

A fourth aspect one must be aware of is the relatively small size of the associations among the variables. The highest Q association of .439 between Indians' frequency-intimacy of contact and preference for association does not by any means provide overwhelming, clear-cut evidence of the hypothesized relationship in spite of its statistical significance at the .02 level. The .305 Q association between Indian perceived SES and preference is even less conclusive with a statistical significance of .20. The interpretation of the non-statistical significance of these two indicators is based on the extremely low associations of the other possible relationships in comparison to them. Thus, one should read the statistical findings as offering the barest indications and not absolutely substantiated conclusions.

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[7] Small refers to absolute figures. Proportionately, the samples were 3% of the total white population, and 10% of the total Indian population.

[8] See Chapter IV, pp. 54-63.

A fifth limitation is drawn from a careful look into just how great the degree of differences in social distance attitudes were. More precisely, what is the subjective significance in differences between the mean scores of preference for association compiled from the two samples?

In the white sample the mean scores of preference for association ranged from 1.0, indicating a unanimous affirmative response to the question "Would you marry into (group x) or approve of your children marrying into (it)?", to 2.20 which falls between "would be willing to have as a close friend" and "would have as a next door neighbor". In the Indian sample the mean scores ranged from 1.28 (i.e., between "marriage" and "a close friend") to 3.29 which falls between "would have as a next door neighbor" and "would work with at my job". Thus, the distinctions between the varying degrees of mean preference for association fall in the more intimate half of the seven item scale.[9]

This distribution apparently indicates generally favorable attitudes--as expressed in terms of preference for association--toward all of the five "others-groups" the two samples were questioned about. There is also the probability that these expressed "good feelings" reflect the general reluctance of respondents to show disfavor with any

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[9]The mean preference scores and the range of responses for each group in both samples are found in Appendix I, Table B.

group while conversing with one who is armed with pen and interview, and has introduced himself as a social researcher.

In support of the findings, it is well to emphasize that the primary concern was with differences in preference for association, frequency--intimacy of contact, and perception of socio-economic status. The research was designed only to deal with hypotheses in terms of "greater than" or "less than". It was not designed to test exact quality or intensity of feelings or attitudes. The differences between the mean preference for association scores of the out-groups and the in-group in each sample are statistically significant with the exception of the Indians' preference for association with whites.[10]

4. The Ethnic Factor

It was implied above that differences between whites and Indians in Washington County are more than racial--they are cultural as well. This section is a brief discussion of the factors other than race which serve to differentiate white Americans and Passamaquoddy, and ultimately, affect the differing social distance perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of the two populations.

The most obvious factor is segregation. Whites in Maine live in towns much the same as most Americans across the country. Indians, on the other hand, live on what most whites and Indians refer to as "the Point", "the Township",

[10] See Appendix I, Tables C-1, C-2.

or "the reservation". There is nothing inherently wrong with living on a "reservation" except for the fact that if one lives there as an Indian it means that he is basically something very different from the whites who live in towns around him. Whites recognize this; Indians recognize it as well. Different Passamaquoddy interviewed said why they stay on the reservation in the following ways.

> The reservation is for Indians--its where they should stay.
>
> To keep our customs and language.
>
> It's been that way for a long time--so the Tribe won't be demolished.
>
> It's hard to live in the city without money.
>
> They can't get along with white people--we're better off by ourselves.
>
> It's better for the older people--they get State checks here. I've got to take care of my people.
>
> They should stay because it's where they were born and our people are here.
>
> Here we live in peace--there's no trouble.
>
> Indians should keep building up. Down at Pleasant Point they're losing the Indian language--in Old Town they don't even speak the language now. My kids will learn to speak Passamaquoddy. (A 14 year-old girl).
>
> If we don't stay here, we'll lose the land to whites.
>
> We want to keep up our ancestors. Once an Indian, always an Indian.
>
> I'd get away--<u>if I could</u>. (A 15 year-old boy).

These comments and Table 15 below demonstrate the overwhelming desire of most Indians to remain on the

reservation as a Tribe. The Passamaquoddy tend to look upon themselves as a cultural entity.[11]

TABLE 15

ATTITUDES ON RESERVATION LIVING

| Do you think Indians should remain together on a Township? | Whites | Indians |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 12 | 23 |
| No | 10 | 2 |
| No Response | 3 | 0 |

A second cultural factor is language. Virtually all Passamaquoddy in Indian Township are bilingual, speaking Passamaquoddy and English. Passamaquoddy is considered by most to be the "mother-tongue", although I was told by several older people that younger Indians do not all speak it well. Nevertheless, most Indians do have an accent to their English speech that is usually both slight and pleasant to the ear. The native language, is, as can be seen from some of the comments quoted above, a source of pride and identity. I heard Passamaquoddy spoken about one-third

[11] There is even ethnocentrism amongst Indian groups. For example, one Indian commented to me about his fellow Maine Indians, the Penobscots: "Those Old Town Indians won't have anything to do with us unless they come ask us for a favor. The Passamaquoddy never ask them for help. They've even lost their language down there. The trouble with them is that they want to be like white men."

of the time I was within ear-shot of Indians on the Township. I was told that it was spoken "quite a bit in the home" and, therefore, I would judge that Passamaquoddy is spoken considerably more than English in the absence of whites.[12]

Religion is another factor which distinguishes Indians from the surrounding white communities--particularly Princeton. The Indians are all Catholic (although the mission priest pointed out to me that not all are "active"), while most whites in Princeton are Congregational, Baptist, or claim no membership in a church.[13] The religious faiths represented in the two samples are found in Table 16.

TABLE 16

RELIGIOUS FAITHS INDICATED IN THE TWO SAMPLES

| | White | Indian |
|---|---|---|
| Baptist | 8 | 0 |
| Catholic | 2 | 25 |
| Congregational | 7 | 0 |
| None Indicated | 8 | 0 |

The religious factor also enters into educational differences between the two populations. There is a State supported school, grades 1 through 8, on Peter Dana Point that is taught by Catholic nuns. Thus, all Indians are given a parochial education virtually in their own

[12]This is generally confirmed in the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee Report of Walter Moulton, leader of the UUSC summer work project at Peter Dana Point, Indian Township (1966), p. 1.

[13]There were two Catholics in the white sample, with both noting that they were among a very small minority in Princeton.

backyards over the first eight years of their academic lives, while all whites in Princeton attend the public school run by the Town.

Less easy to measure and record are the subtle customs, legends, beliefs, and ways of doing things that are uniquely Passamaquoddy. Many of these have blended into the effects of white culture on the Tribe. For example, while I was carrying out the field research, a Tribal member residing in Boston committed suicide while being held in a City jail. His body was transported to Peter Dana Point for burial. Following the grave side Catholic rites at the interment, an elderly Passamaquoddy woman and man sang an Indian funeral dirge. It was as much a part of the ceremony as the preceding Catholic funeral ritual.

5. The Passamaquoddy "Culture of Poverty"

The differences in traditional cultural variables such as language and religion add to the racially distinguishing characteristics between Indians and whites. Indians and whites are, in fact, two racial-ethnic groups in contact. But there are additional variables beyond race and ethnicity which create a gulf between the two groups--particularly from the point of view of whites. Indians live in what Michael Harrington has coined "a culture of poverty."[14]

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[14]Michael Harrington, The Other America (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 15.

It is far beyond the scope of this research to describe adequately, much less explore, causes and remedies for Passamaquoddy poverty. As suggested in the first chapter, many economic problems stem from the more general economically depressed condition of Washington County. Nevertheless, some of the resulting humiliation and attendant social problems bear mention, particularly as they are reflected in white perceptions of Indians, and the resulting attitudes and behavior in both groups.

Welfare dependency is endemic in Indian Township. The Maine Department of Indian Affairs outlay for the entire Passamaquoddy Tribe (Indian Township, population 221 and Pleasant Point, population 484) during the period 1965-66 is presented below.

TABLE 17

MAINE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS OUTLAY FOR THE PASSAMAQUODDY TRIBE, 1965-66[a]

| | |
|---|---|
| Food | $ 35,244.00 |
| Medical Care | 35,192.00 |
| Hospital Care | 16,080.00 |
| Clothing | 9,744.00 |
| Transportation | 5,844.00 |
| Fuel | 3,208.00 |
| Total | $105,312.00 |

[a]Source: Maine Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Edward C. Hinckley.

In addition, 55 to 60 percent of the overall Passamaquoddy population on both reservations receives Public Assistance from the State Department of Health and Welfare which includes: Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, and Aid to the Disabled.[15] In 1967, it was reported that "In Indian Township, there are . . . six who receive Old-Age Assistance; five who receive Aid to the Disabled; and one who receives Aid to the Blind".[16]

> With regard to another form of welfare payment, 5.6% of the population of Washington County was receiving AFDC payments: in Indian Township, 54.7% of the children received such payments. This fact emphasized the critical importance of welfare payments and of welfare policy to the Indian Township community, on a purely economic level. The psychological implications are more obvious, but less quantifiable.[17]

The white perception of the heavy reliance of the Indian population on State assistance programs is reflected in the following quotations from interviews.

> The Indians get a good break as far as the State goes. Too many of 'um are lazy.

> Indians are a poorer class of people; they live off the State. Some do work. Once they get away from here they're better off. It's just the environment they're brought up in.

> Indians take State checks and drink it up. If they can afford to buy a Cadillac they should afford to

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[15] From an Interview with Indian Agent, Horace Weston, July 10, 1968.

[16] George La Porte (sociologist and psychologist), "Sociological and Economic Aspects," Unitarian Universalist Service Committee Report, professional staff, Indian Township Summer Project (1967), p. 3.

[17] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

> buy grub for themselves. They shouldn't get any more money for food when they get a check which they drink. Why can't they repair their houses or buy beds?
>
> The majority of Indians disrespect the law. They have no pride. They'll be drunk in the middle of the road when the welfare checks come. They have dirty homes and they're dirty people.

Alcoholism is a severe problem among the Indians at Peter Dana Point. Although I did not attempt to keep an accurate count of people whom I saw drunk, there was no question that even in the day, during which I spent most of my time on the reservation, excessive drinking was often in evidence. A report in 1966 noted that "About half of the homes at Peter Dana Point shelter at least one person who could be termed either an alcoholic or a heavy drinker, and some of them contain more than one. It is not uncommon for those who drink to stay drunk for days or even weeks. Forthose who work, this normally means loss of a job and the necessity of finding a new one."[18] My general impressions during my stay at the Township support these statements. Appendix II presents one brief analysis of this problem amongst the Passamaquoddy which seems, in light of my observations, to be very credible and insightful.

The white comments on Indian drinking were extremely common. Two examples would be the following statements.

> If the drinking problem was solved it might help Indian-white relations. Indians will sell their possessions in order to get money to buy liquor.

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[18] Unitarian Universalist Service Committee Report, 1966, p. 6.

> Most of the time Indians are good. But you give 'um a little spirits and that's a horse of a different color.

A number of white respondents told stories of "bootlegging" out on the Point. Two respondents insisted that the local grocery stores were forced to remove vanilla extract from the shelves because Indians craving liquor, but unable to get to the nearest liquor store, stole it when they were in Princeton to "get high on".

Indians, themselves, were very conscious of excessive alcohol consumption among them in their group, and some of those interviewed expressed their feelings.

> (Male, 16-20 years old): Indians aren't doing well today. There's a lot of drinking and dope.
>
> (Female, over 60 years old): Things were better in the old days. These new people are drunk all the time.
>
> (Female, 15 years old): Some Indians are doing O.K. But some are bad--all they want to do is drink.
>
> (Male, 16 years old): Drinkin' is bad though. Here on the Strip it's quiet, but it's bad out on the Point. Out there there's lots of drinkin' and noise. There are bootleggers out there--and they fight all the time.[19]

Last to be discussed, but by no means the only remaining social problem growing out of the Passamaquoddy "culture of poverty", are the hopelessness, low aspirations,

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[19] This comment points to a phenomenon which became increasingly apparent as I got to know the members of the Tribe better. There is some degree of antipathy between Indians living on the Strip and those at the Point. Numerous allusions to this antipathy were conveyed to me, such as differential treatment by the Indian affairs authorities favoring the Point, and "snobbishness" on the Strip.

and low social mobility among the Indians.[20] These are best expressed by the Indians themselves.

> Some Indians try to help themselves, but some depend on State aid too much. Over half depend on State aid too much.

> Indians should just receive aid in medicine. The rest of the aid they're gettin' is too much. When you give too much it just encourages the men to sit home and not work.

White reactions to these phenomena seem to reflect a feeling that Indians are simply lazy, drunken bums who lack the determination and self-reliance that they define as "good". For example, here is what eight different white respondents said about Indians.

> Indians have opportunities but no drive. Like on a rank card, I'd give 'um a "D"---just passing. They haven't got any initiative and they're big drinkers.

> (This respondent's husband was connected with the schools in Princeton.) Indians are very poor students. They're very poor students because the nuns teach them Catholic doctrine. They're not prepared for high school. The Indians have never had a chance. History hasn't been good to them. Now they don't care.--Out there on the reservation there are lots of fights. They don't want to work. There are shootings and stabbings and they're all drunk half the time.

> Whites are bothered because you can't count on Indians to work or even show up for work. Whites have been frustrated and, therefore, hire others who could be counted on . . . . Liquor seems to keep Indians from working. Liquor seems to affect Indians more than whites.

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[20] For example, poor housing, malnutrition, illegitimacy, and a number of others could be added.

Georgia-Pacific employs some Indians. The company goes out of its way to help them. But a lot could help themselves more. Many don't even want to help themselves.

The Indians are better off at Peter Dana Point because of the 'shacky' homes. Some of them work and try to fix up their homes. Others just throw up a few boards and put tar paper over it.

Indians are very ignorant people; they're slow to learn. They have no respect for anyone--they could care less. If they committed a crime, they could care less; they'd do it again. There are fights between Indians--cops go out to break it up and the cops beat up the Indians. Indians are hard to understand.--Indians have been treated more than fairly by whites. They don't have to work if they don't want to; they get pensions, food and clothing from the State.

Some Indians are good--some are bad. Most don't act too good. They've killed people in Eastport--fighting and drinking. It's the same here too. I think they may have burned my house; they steal too.

They ought to move the Indians away all together. All should go to Pleasant Point. Then they could turn Peter Dana Point into a nice beach or something. I've heard that lots of people from out of State don't like the appearance of their homes.

All of the aforementioned factors add up to distinguishing characteristics that make whites highly conscious of Indians as undesirable. Whites made statements such as "Indians are best off if they have their own place;" or, they are people "whose ways are different than ours." On the other hand, some Indians expressed insecurity about contact with whites. For example, one Passamaquoddy boy told me that "I don't like to leave the reservation; it's creepy in Princeton."

While Indians would no doubt like to emulate the perceived affluence of whites,[21] they are caught up in loyalties to the Tribe, the maladies of poverty, and outright fear of the white dominated world off the reservation. The situation is well stated in the paragraph below.

> But the most important cause of Indian unemployment is far more subtle and far more difficult to understand. . . . it is the great human fear of the unknown. The transition from life on the reservation to life off the reservation is an enormously difficult one for the Indian. The outside world--white man's world--is filled with fearful situations which he is afraid he will not be able to handle. Like all people he is suspicious of that which he does not understand; for the Indian this means everything off the reservation. Repeated failures in school and lack of success in finding full time employment further increase his feelings of inadequacy, his sense of defeat, and his fear of the outside world. The only way for the white man to appreciate how an Indian feels is for us to remember how we feel in a completely strange society. How do we feel walking through the Negro section of a large city alone at night? This is the fearful atmosphere in which the Indian must find work or continue his education. It is best expressed in the words of a very capable young man now working for Georgia-Pacific. He told us that when he applied for a job at the paper mill in Woodland he was 'scared to death.'[22]

On the part of whites, social distance (degree of understanding and intimacy) between themselves and Indians is quite rigidly set in the informal folkways of the Town. Several white males indicated to me that contact between Indians and whites from Princeton occurred mainly when a few white boys "went out to the Point to get some squaws."

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[21] Collectively the Indian sample ranked whites first in perceived SES, and second in preference for association.

[22] Unitarian Universality Service Committee Report, 1966, p. 4.

When asked: What do you think can be done to improve white and Indian relations in this area?, one white male, 30 to 40 years old, answered in this way.

> (Laughing) Some of the boys around town go out to improve relations now and then. You know--with the squaws.

On another occasion I was in the presence of a white male, about thirty years old, from Princeton who did not know I was doing research. As we drove out the road past the turn to Peter Dana Point, I asked if we were headed in the right direction to reach our destination. He turned to a second man from Princeton who was sitting in the back seat and said while laughing, "We don't want to go out to the Point to get us some squaws tonight, do we Pete?" The response was "No.", with the joke well understood by all. In two other interviews of whites, "journeys to the Point" by white Princeton males were mentioned.

For the Passamaquoddys' part, only once was any such activity mentioned. While talking with one male (30 to 40 years old) during an interview, he interrupted an overtly unrelated question I was asking with the words "White score, right there", while pointing his hand back over my shoulder. There stood one of the several blond haired Indian children on the reservation.

Some whites are cautious about having (or seeming to have) too intimate contact with Indians. One woman from Princeton, when asked how whites and Indians got along in the area, responded:

Most are friendly. I sometimes meet them while I'm down-street. A lot of them say 'Hi____'. You know they don't keep things like we do; material things don't amount to much.

Interviewer: Have you ever been out to the reservation?

Respondent: No. I've hardly been out at all.

Interviewer: Do you know any Indians?

Respondent: No, I don't know any at all. I don't know why they say 'Hi'. It makes me feel odd when my friends are with me. Sometimes they say, 'Just how well do you know them, ____?'

Another Princeton male over sixty said,

Indians should have a place there by themselves. A lot of 'um don't give a God Damn; a lot would rather steal than work. Good whites don't get mixed up with 'um.

Still another Princeton man said that traditional contact situations between Indians and whites had changed and the changes were, from his point of view, bad.

A few years ago Indians only came in town on Saturday for groceries. Now a lot of 'um have cars. They're comin' in town all the time. Things were better when they stayed on the reservation where they belong.

A woman expressed the same sort of feelings.

The Indians should stay out at the Township. It's a good place for them. There are enough people in Princeton without the Indians. There are a few French Canadians in Princeton--that's enough.

## 6. Social Distance and Park's Race Relations Cycle

In the relations of races there is a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself. . . . The race relations cycle which takes the form, to state it abstractly, of contacts, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation, is apparently progressive and irreversible. Customs regulations, immigration restrictions and racial barriers may slacken the tempo of the movement; may perhaps halt

> it altogether for a time; but cannot change its direction; cannot at any rate, reverse it.[23]

There is no doubt that American Indians, as a racial-ethnic group, have not yet assimilated into American culture. Peter Farb describes the contemporary situation.

> When today's remnants of Indian societies are examined closely, it is seen how well some have worked out a compromise with their White conquerors--acculturation without assimilation. They use United States currency and banks, speak English to Whites, furnish their American-style homes with American-made goods, subscribe to American magazines, own television sets or radios that receive programs prepared by the dominant White society. They have accepted almost all of the material aspects of White American society. . . . In the face of constant exposure to outside influences they survived by developing an antiassimilation attitude. Their small numbers survived culturally because they rejected oppressive parts of the White culture at the same time that they accepted the unimportant parts.[24]

Passamaquoddy Indians are not at the assimilation stage of Park's race relations cycle. Although Park states that the cycle is "irreversible", he does allow that it may "halt altogether for a time." In my judgment, relations between Indians and whites in the area under consideration are, and have for some time, been stalemated at the accommodation stage. Accommodation, in this case, refers to a situation dominated by the following factors:

1. Clear-cut social distance exists in terms of lowered preference for association on the

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[23]Robert E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), p. 155.

[24]Peter Farb, p. 266; also see William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle, pp. 9-11.

part of whites; informal restrictions on contact between whites and Indians sanctioned by social disapproval in the white community; perception of Indians as low status and generally undesirable by whites. Indians, for their part, show some apprehension over contact with whites in the white dominated situation off the reservation. In other words, feelings of considerable understanding and intimacy do not characterize relations between the two groups.

2. On the other hand, economic competition--much less open conflict--is virtually non-existent. Overt hostilities between the Passamaquoddy and the surrounding white community ended back in the eighteenth century. Whites do not even seem to seriously regard Indians as competitors in the economic system of the area; nor do Indians generally envision competition with whites.[25]

3. A set of customs, attitudes, and institutions have developed in both groups which perpetuate segregation and cultural identity of the two groups in relatively stable equilibrium.

The accommodation situation is a product of four primary factors: institutionalized isolation and separation

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[25]French Canadians being treated as a separate group here.

of the two groups as a result of the reservation system; the long duration of a relatively unchanged pattern of social distance and primary relations between the two groups; Passamaquoddy desires to retain their cultural identity; and, Indians' hopes for an impending economic and cultural revival of the Tribe based on the suit of Massachusetts.

The first of these factors, the reservation system, is an outgrowth of a treaty made in 1794.[26] Since one of the requirements a Passamaquoddy must meet to receive State (Indian) assistance is residence on the reservation, the economic motivation to stay is itself great. The benefits or evils of the reservation system are not at issue here. The system is merely recognized as one important element which tends to restrict assimilation--for better or for worse.[27]

The pattern of relations between Indians and whites has remained largely unchanged for many, many years. And most whites do not foresee any changes in the near future. In response to the question "What do you think can be done to improve white and Indian relations?", most whites said they could not think of anything because "things don't change much, and they've always been this way." For example,

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[26]See Bill of Complaint: Passamaquoddy Tribe on Its Behalf and on Behalf of Those Connected with Them Versus Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Suffolk Superior Court, Attorneys John S. Bottomly and Son C. Gellers.

[27]For a discussion of termination of reservations, see William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle, pp. 179-213.

> The Indians have just always been on the Township. For right here it's the best idea. They're a poorer class; they've been here for generations.
>
> Indians should be treated as whites, but they're often down-graded--just like the Negroes are. . . . They should help themselves more. Here they take State aid and don't work. It's always been that way I think--it's too bad.
>
> Indians and whites don't get along. They're in a rut.

Passamaquoddy desires to retain their cultural identity were evident in the previous section on Indian desires to remain on the Township. Comments such as this were common.

> Other people are always trying to get Indians to move away from the reservation. We should stay on the reservation.

To refrain from too much contact with whites is one way the Tribes can protect themselves from the loss of in-group ties, identity, and security.

Finally, the accommodation stage in Indian-white relations has been petrified, in part, by Passamaquoddy hopes for a favorable outcome of their suit of Massachusetts. One could not help but feel, when talking to many individuals on the Township, that dreams of a windfall in the Massachusetts courts are almost analogous to the revivalistic movements which characterized many American Indian cultures in the late 1800's.[28] For example, some Indians made statements like the following:

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[28]See Peter Farb, pp. 275-294.

> The future for Indians here looks good--if we win the land case. Indians could start a mill to employ all the Indians year round.
>
> The future looks pretty good once we get the money from the land case. I don't know what they'll do with it.

From many Passamaquoddy's point of view, the justness of their cause is without doubt; and lack of doubt alone makes success seem ever so certain. The confidence that justice will be served in the foreseeable future may be a factor contributing to a lack of initiative to organize or participate in programs for improvement on the Township by the Indians themselves;[29] and virtually no attempts to increase contact outside the Township. Numerous times Indians said things like the following:

> The future looks bad to me. Indians don't try to help themselves out. They want people to help them out. They don't want to help themselves. They can't speak up for themselves. May be scared of something--I don't know what.
>
> (When asked "How are Indians doing today?", a 14 year old girl said:) The usual--nothing. Most aren't working--just the Governor John, and George Stevens.

### 7. Prospects for the Future

This research was carried out during a particularly volatile period in Indian Township. The relatively "stable equilibrium" characterizing the accommodating relations

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[29] This refers to a general condition as I saw it. In specific cases, such as the man who was running the OEO funded program for the Tribe, a good deal of initiative was obvious.

between Passamaquoddy and whites was beginning to show some outward signs of change. The focal point of these manifestations was the dispute over Georgia-Pacific Paper Company's harvesting of trees on land of questionable ownership (the Tribe or the Company) in Indian Township. The company had been leasing cutting rights from Maine on Indian Township for a "stumpage fee". Above and beyond the question of the State's right to lease alleged Tribal lands, the dispute revolved around two issues: 1. misuse of the land by Georgia-Pacific (i.e., cutting too close to the road and similar poor conservation practices); and, 2. failure to use Indian work crews on Indian land. From the time I started collecting data in mid-June 1968 until the time I left in mid-July of that year, action to be applied against Georgia-Pacific and its French Canadian contracted cutting crews was a frequent topic of conversation amongst the Passamaquoddy.

The confrontation reached a head in the last days of my stay. Indians staged sit-down strike in front of machinery on the wood-cutting sites stopping work. This led to speeded up negotiations with Georgia-Pacific. During my last day on the reservation, Tribal Governor John Stevens told me that a tentative agreement had been reached with which he was pleased. Wood-cutting was to be stopped on disputed lands; a system for hiring, training, and equipping Indian work crews to work on Indian land replacing the French Canadian ones was agreed upon.

The significance of the dispute for white-Indian relations can best be summed up in the following conversation I recorded between two whites in Princeton's laundramat. The speakers were a middle-aged woman dressed in shorts and a sweat shirt, and a resident fishing guide in his mid-fifties.

Woman: Well, what do you think about the up-risin' they're havin' out at the Township?

Guide: You know they're cuttin' an awful lot of land over there in the Township. It's a shame. They're not supposed to cut to the lake, and they do. They not only take the timber, but they ruin the land.

Woman: I don't blame 'um (the Indians). They don't even leave thirty feet by the road. It's all cleaned out.

Guide: The agreement was that they'd hire Indian labor and only cut what was right. I don't think the Indianswould have done nothin' if they'd cut it right.

Woman: They had what was to be cut marked, didn't they?

Guide: Yes, but they cut it all. That Georgia-Pacific, they're out to cut and get all they can; then they'll pull out.

Woman: Well, I hope they don't pull out too soon.

Guide: Those companies got too much power in this state. There's nothin' can be done.

On several other occasions I heard similar sentiments expressed by whites that seemed to indicate a combination of two factors. One is a desire that the Indians get a "fair break". The other is a feeling of oneness in the face of a common "enemy"---the Georgia-Pacific Paper Company. Whites are very ambivalent about the Company. On the one hand,

they invariably (in every case) acknowledge that it is the sole economic life-blood of the Princeton area, and they fear it might close down. On the other hand, whites almost as often expressed resentment at the tremendous drain the Company put on the area's timber resources, and the helplessness they felt to do anything about it.

For the Passamaquoddy's part, success in a venture in which they actively participated will without doubt initiate incentives and motivations which have lain dormant for many years. Maine's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Edward C. Hinckley, once mentioned to me the vital process of "morale building" to be done amongst this very poor segment of Maine's population for which he is responsible. It seemed evident during the month of my research that the barest beginnings of that process are under way in Indian Township. The possibilities for lessened social distance--greater understanding and intimacy--may be surfacing between the white community of Princeton and the neighboring Passamaquoddy of Indian Township.

## 8. Concluding Remarks

This research was designed to explore social distance specifically, and, more generally, to describe attitudes and behavior relating to racial-ethnic groups in two racially and culturally differentiated communities in Maine. With this in mind, it is necessary to re-emphasize the dangers of generalizing the findings beyond the

populations of Princeton and Indian Township. The research, of course, needs replication. Recognizing these two interrelated factors, i.e., the danger of generalizing and the desirability for replication, the brief remarks which follow will attempt to point out the potential implications and application of the findings and technique.

## The Method

Investigation of social distance on three dimensions has, I think, much to recommend it. The utility of the social distance concept--a continuum which can be segmented for more detailed analysis--was noted at the outset in the statement of the problem. In addition to these theoretical advantages, the measuring tools used in this study proved to be direct and efficient. The average interview took from 40 minutes to one hour to administer. Replication, on a much broader scale in other locales, employing a great number of additional cases would not be hampered by undue complexity or length of time required for each interview.

The participant observation was tremendously important to elaboration of the more quantitative findings. There is no way, of course, to expedite the process of getting to know and understand the situation one is investigating other than training and practice in painstaking observation techniques. Careful, guided qualitative description of a particular social situation was a goal of

this study no less than quantitative measurement and analysis of social distance. From involvement with this sort of research one is impressed with the desirability of integrating quantitative and qualitative research techniques.

## The Problem in Wide Perspective

Relative isolation is a significant aspect of the Princeton-Indian Township area as a "laboratory" in which to research attitudes about racial-ethnic groups. Contacts with most of the groups about which attitudes were asked in the interviews were relatively infrequent and not very intimate. This research situation proved significant in providing findings concerning the drift and institutionalization of cultural norms and values even when opportunities for their direct application in behavior do not frequently occur. In other words, the finding that Princeton's whites tend to establish attitudinal social distance primarily on the basis of racial (visible physical) differences is not at all unlike the findings of innumerable other studies done in areas of the United States in which racially distinct groups are in close proximity.[30]

Generally, the most basic distinction made between man and other animals (social or otherwise) is man's symbol using capacity.[31] Symbols, being mentally constructed representations, may be transmitted beyond the objective

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[30] For example, see John Dollard, Caste and Class.

[31] See, for example Harry C. Bredemeir and Richard M. Stephenson, pp. 1-10; or, Weston LaBarre, The Human Animal (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 167-68 and 233-66.

facts or relationships they stand for and make what they represent significant even in its objective absence. Race, in the United States, is an important symbol. To re-state C, Eric Lincoln's observations: "In social relations in the United States, color is often read as a signal to denigrate, to discriminate, to segregate. It takes on the characteristics of a cultural norm, so much so that a complex of rewards, punishments, and the strictest taboos have grown up around it."

In contrast to this, Passamaquoddy Indian culture--which the data tend to show exists quite apart from the larger white American culture--does not (according to the findings) include race as a significant symbol contributing to social distance attitudes of preference for association. While Passamaquoddies are no more geographically isolated than Princeton's whites, there are apparently additional barriers to inclusion of the norms and values of the dominant culture by which they are surrounded. The Passamaquoddy are a cultural entity, the members of which have resisted many of the most deep-rooted American values, i.e., the Protestant Ethic and invidious racial distinctions.

## Possibilities for Change

Logical questions as an outgrowth of this research are: What might be done to change the Passamaquoddy poverty; and what might be done to change the racially ascribed basis upon which Princeton's whites formulate their social distance attitudes? The findings may be interpreted as

characteristic of national, societal problems which ultimately must be attacked on a national, societal level. As has been stated so very many times before, a national commitment of resources and will is vital to a change in the objective conditions of poverty and the subjective attitudes of racism in the United States.[32]

Taking poverty first, my observations at Indian Township confirmed all my expectations of a "culture of poverty". Passamaquoddy are not only plagued by the physical deprivations of unemployment and low standard of living, but they are victims of the less tangible maladies (defeatism, lack of motivation, hopelessness) which grow out of the "culture of poverty" described in the previous chapter. These problems will require massive educational and social assistance programs to make significant changes. But realizing the economic context surrounding the Passamaquoddy (i.e., high unemployment and slow economic development in Washington County--and in Maine) the changes of great rapid improvement are slim indeed.

Race attitudes on the part of whites would be even more difficult to change. Due to the lack of any significant amount of direct intergroup contact in Princeton, any change in attitude would depend more upon transmission from the

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[32]For example see Kenneth B. Clark's statement quoted in the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 29, in which he says, "I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission--it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland--with the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction."

more urban core culture of which they are the geographic and attitudinal fringe. Therefore, the basis for social distance attitudes in Princeton would most likely change only after changes had taken place throughout the more centrally located and influential cultural opinion centers of the country. Such central changes might be hastened in their effect on Princeton's population as they make themselves felt in the mass media. The mechanisms or possibilities for such massive attitude changes are crucial to justice and peace of mind in an American society which embodies a creed of equality. Although suggested by it, such macro-sociological issues go far beyond the scope of discussion in this study.

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# APPENDIX I

A. Background Variables of the Two Samples

1. sex
2. age
3. occupation (head of household)
4. income (total family)
5. education

B. Preference for Association: The Range and Mean Scores for Each Sample

C. Preference for Association: Matrix of Scores for Each Sample

1. Indian

2. white

D. Percent of Total Frequency of Contact Respondents in Each Sample Reported with Other Groups in Each Contact Situation

1. Indian

2. white

E. Responses of Don't Know Personally to Interview Questions Five through Eight

F. The Geographic Distribution of the Interviews

1. Princeton and the "Strip"

2. Peter Dana Point

TABLE A

Background Variables
of the Two Samples

| | White | Indian |
|---|---|---|
| **SEX** | | |
| Male | 9 | 14 |
| Female | 16 | 11 |
| total | 25 | 25 |
| **AGE** | | |
| 15 and under | 0 | 4 |
| 16-20 | 3 | 5 |
| 21-30 | 7 | 2 |
| 30-40 | 4 | 7 |
| 40-60 | 6 | 4 |
| 60 and over | 5 | 3 |
| total | 25 | 25 |
| **OCCUPATION (Head of Household)** | | |
| Georgia-Pacific | 12 | 2 |
| Quoddy Mill | 0 | 0 |
| Reservation | 0 | 11 |
| Other | 13 | 12 |
| total | 25 | 25 |
| **INCOME (Total family)*** | | |
| $ 0-499 | 1 | 2 |
| 500-999 | 0 | 1 |
| 1000-1999 | 2 | 5 |
| 2000-2999 | 0 | 2 |
| 3000-4999 | 5 | 6 |
| 5000-6999 | 10 | 3 |
| 7000-9999 | 4 | 1 |
| 10000 and over | 3 | 0 |
| Unknown | 0 | 5 |
| total | 25 | 25 |

*"During 1965, the average gross wage in the manufacturing economy of Washington County was reported by the Census of Maine Manufacturers at 4,407." ("Manpower Resources in Washington County Maine," Maine Employment Security Commission, 1966, p. 4.)

| | White | Indian |
|---|---|---|
| EDUCATION | | |
| Years of school completed | | |
| 1-4 | 2 | 1 |
| 5-7 | 1 | 5 |
| 8 | 2 | 9 |
| 9-11 | 8 | 8 |
| 12 | 7 | 2 |
| 13 | 2 | 0 |
| 14 | 0 | 0 |
| 15 | 1 | 0 |
| 16 | 1 | 0 |
| More than 17 | 1 | 0 |
| | 25 | 25 |

TABLE B

Preference for Association:

The Range and Mean Scores for Each

Sample

| WHITE | | | INDIAN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group | Range | Mean | Group | Range | Mean |
| American | 1 | 1 | Indian | 1-3 | 1.28 |
| French-Canadian | 1-3 | 1.32 | American | 1-5 | 1.60 |
| Jews | 1-5 | 1.96 | Negro | 1-5 | 2.58 |
| Indian | 1-4 | 2.00 | French-Canadian | 1-5 | 2.87 |
| Oriental | 1-5 | 2.16 | Oriental | 1-5 | 3.00 |
| Negro | 1-5 | 2.20 | Jews | 1-5 | 3.29 |

1. Which of these groups would you marry into or approve of your children marrying into?
2. From which of the groups would you be willing to have a close friend?
3. Who would you have as a next door neighbor?
4. Which groups would you work with at your job?
5. Are there any groups you would only speak to when necessary?
6. Which would you only allow as visitors to your country?
7. Which groups would you not allow in your country?

TABLE C-1

Preference for Association

| | $\bar{X}$ 1.28 Ind | 1.60 Am | INDIAN 2.58 Neg. | 2.87 FC | 3.00 Orien | 3.29 Jew |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ind | | D=.32 t=1.33 NS | D=1.30 t=4.37 | D=1.59 t=4.24 | D=1.72 t=4.48 | D=2.01 t=5.40 |
| Am | | | D= .98 t=3.08 | D=1.27 t=3.25 | D=1.40 t=3.50 | D=1.69 t=4.34 |
| Neg. | | | | D= .29 t= .68 NS | D= .42 t= .96 NS | D= .71 t=1.66 NS |
| FC | | | | | D= .13 t=.26 NS | D= .42 t= .87 NS |
| Orien | | | | | | D= .29 t= .59 NS |
| Jew | | | | | | |

Significance level .01 for a 2 tailed test = t of 2.69 or greater

D = Difference of Means

t = t score

TABLE C-2

Preference for Association

| | $\bar{X}$ 1.00 Am | 1.32 FC | WHITE 1.96 Jews | 2.00 Ind | 2.16 Orien | 2.20 Negro |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Am | | D=.32 t=2.92 | D= .96 t=4.18 | D=1.00 t=5.10 | D=1.16 t=4.51 | D=1.20 t=5.15 |
| FC | | | D= .64 t=2.51 NS | D= .68 t=3.03 | D= .84 t=3.01 | D= .88 t=3.43 |
| Jews | | | | D= .04 t=.133 NS | D= .20 t=.581 NS | D= .24 t=.736 NS |
| Ind | | | | | D= .16 t=.495 NS | D= .20 t=.658 NS |
| Orien | | | | | | D= .04 t=.115 NS |
| Neg | | | | | | |

Significance level
.01 for a 2 tailed test - t of 2.69 or greater

D = Difference of means

t = t score

TABLE D-1

Percent of Total Contact Respondents in the Indian Sample Reported with Other Groups in Each Contact Situation

| GROUP | TOTAL FREQUENCY OF CONTACT | % OF THE TOTAL IN EACH SITUATION | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Work | School | Neighbors | Marriage |
| American | 36 | 27.8 | 41.7 | 2.8 | 27.8 |
| French Canadian | 20 | 45.0 | 25.0 | 10.0 | 20.0 |
| Negro | 11 | 72.7 | 27.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Jews | 6 | 66.7 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Orientals | 2 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

TABLE D-2

Percent of Total Contact Respondents in the White Sample Reported with Other Groups in Each Contact Situation

| GROUP | TOTAL FREQUENCY OF CONTACT | % OF THE TOTAL IN EACH SITUATION | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Work | School | Neighbors | Marriage |
| Indians | 34 | 47.1 | 41.2 | 2.9 | 8.8 |
| French Canadians | 26 | 69.2 | 15.4 | 7.7 | 7.7 |
| Negroes | 3 | 66.7 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Jews | 1 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Orientals | 1 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

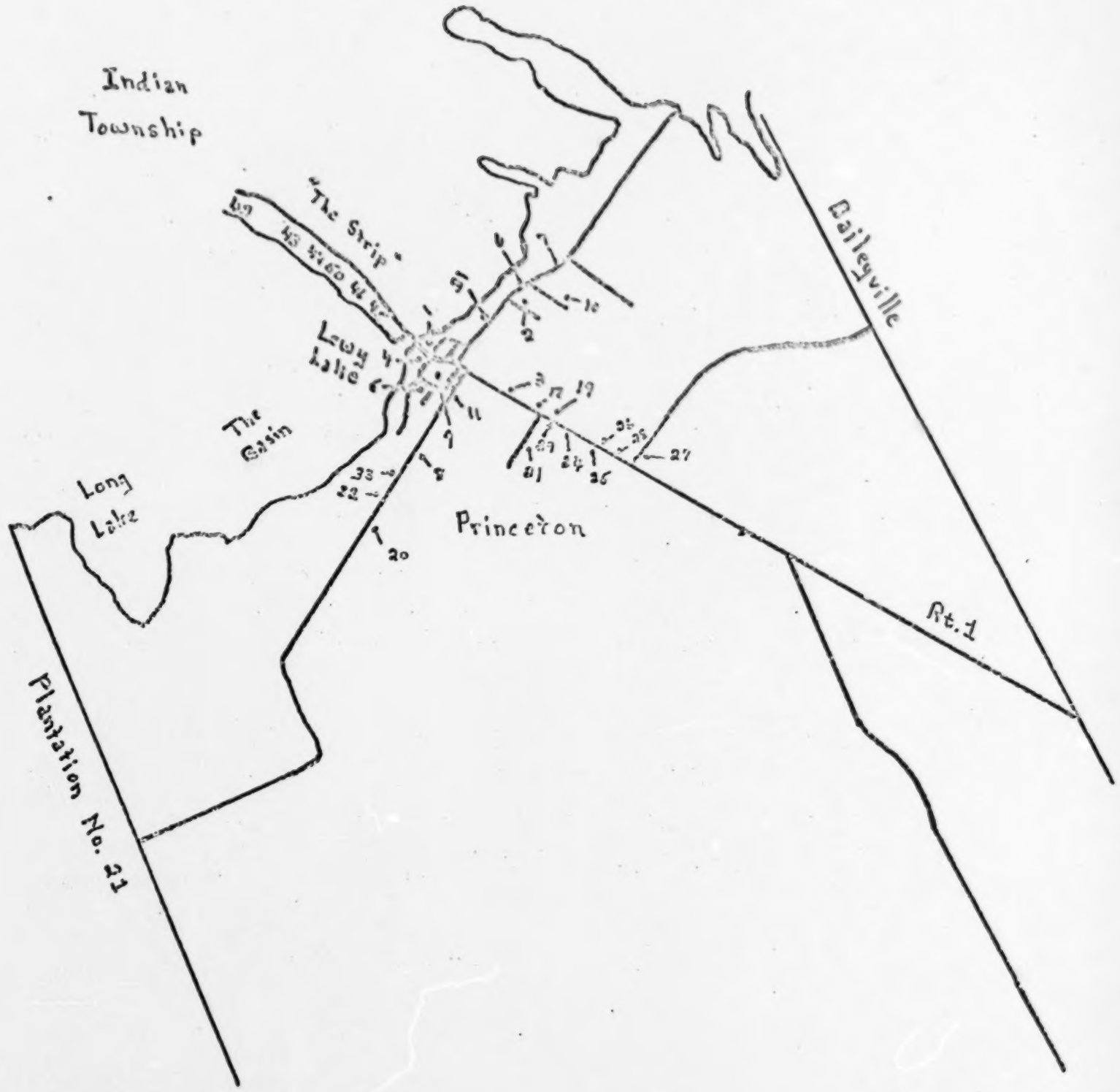
Note: In general, as the contact situation becomes more intimate, the percent of total contact with a particular group decreases. The most significant exception is Indian contact with white Americans, i.e., while only 2.8% of the total contacts reported were as neighbors, 27.8% of the total contacts were through marriage in the family.

TABLE E

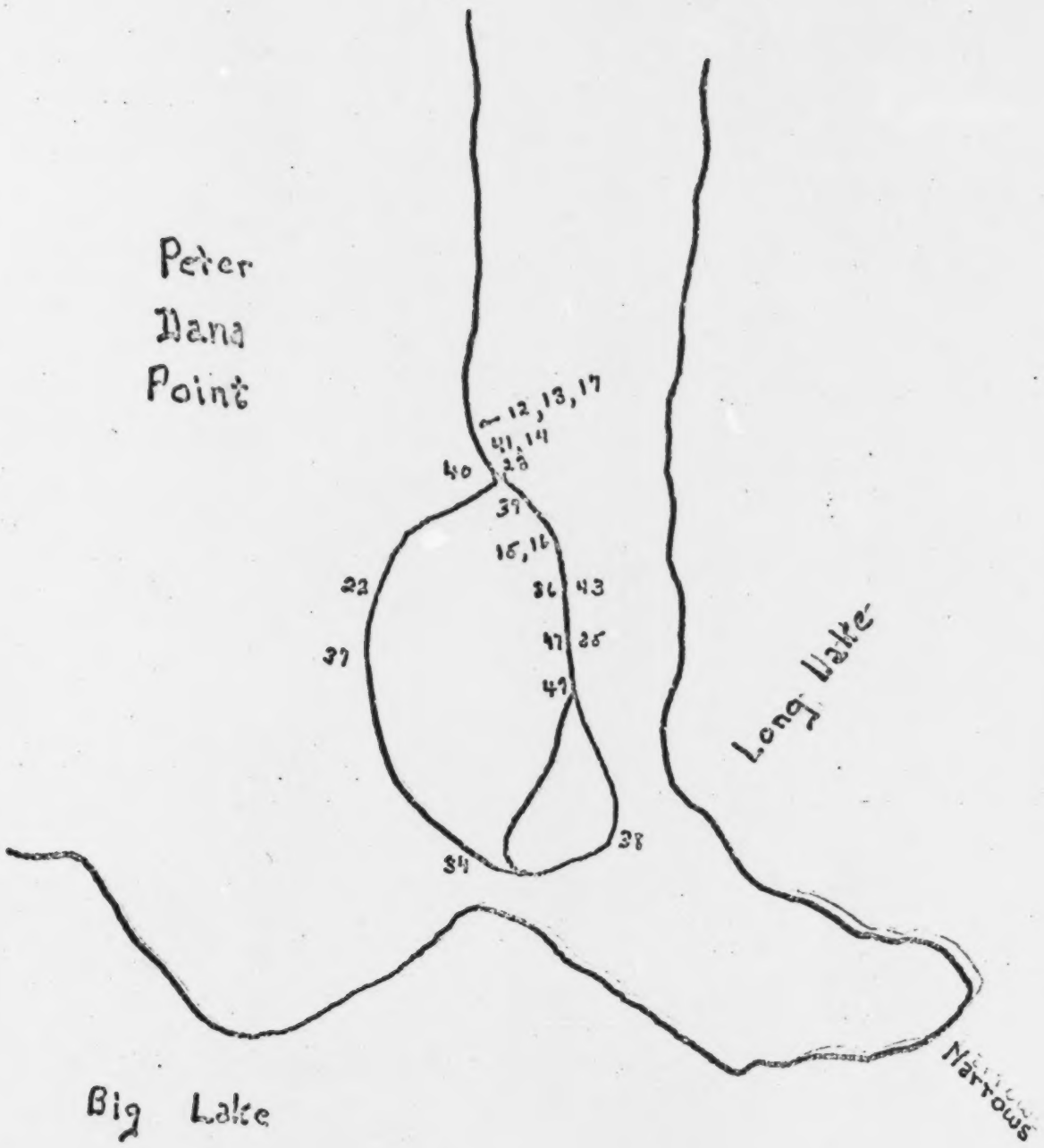
Responses of Don't Know Personally to Interview Questions Five Through Eight: "How would you describe____?"

| Group | No. of Responses | Group | No. of Responses |
|---|---|---|---|
| Indians | 0 | Whites | 1 |
| French Canadians | 5 | French Canadians | 6 |
| Negroes | 11 | Negroes | 8 |
| Jews | 14 | Jews | 19 |

MAP A - PRINCETON AREA



MAP B -- PETER DANA POINT



# APPENDIX II

## Passamaquoddy Alcohol Consumption

Passamaquoddy Alcohol Consumption

The following two paragraphs are a part of a report of the 1966 Unitarian Universalist Service Committee summer work project at Peter Dana Point. They are included, because, in light of my observations while at Peter Dana Point, they accurately explain the situation with regard to alcohol consumption and probably come very close to hypothesizing insightfully why many Passamaquoddy tend to drink in excess. Having met and talked with a number of the people who have worked on the UUSC project at Peter Dana Point over the past three or four years, I am assured of their professional qualifications and expert judgment in such matters.

> The problem of alcoholism is enormously complicated. All the many factors which contribute to alcoholism anywhere are present here, but some take on a unique character or have special significance. For one thing, geographic location leaves very little else to do. Although the reservation is isolated, there is little individual privacy. Each person's home is only a few yards from his neighbor's. Also most of the homes have far more people than they can accommodate comfortably. This may include three generations. Finally there is no concept of privacy; for instance, no one is ever excluded from anywhere, so there is no way to escape the many prying eyes except to drink yourself into oblivion.
>
> Excessive indulgence is fostered by unemployment with its attendant boredom and frustrations. In this atmosphere of indolence there is little predisposition for young people or adults to use their time constructively. Lack of self-esteem and motivation for improvement are also important causes. In a society where people consider themselves to be second class citizens--'We're just Indians anyway'--there is a predisposition to excesses, especially alcohol. More important is the fact that the Indian suffers from a lack of self-realization both individually and collectively. There is nothing in particular that he does well either by himself or as a group. He, therefore, feels inferior,

lacks self-confidence and has no way of gaining a sense of accomplishment. The above conditions lead to a defeatist attitude which is a recognized cause of alcoholism. And so the Indian with no sense of accomplishment in the past, no opportunity for recourse in the present, and no hope for the future finds a 100-proof solution in the bottle.*

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*Unitarian Universalist Service Committee Report, Walter Moulton, leader of the UUSC summer work project at Peter Dana Point, Indian Township, Maine, 1966, p. 6.

# APPENDIX III

The Marginal Man

## The Marginal Man

Robert E. Park made note, in numerous places in his writings, of what he called the marginal man. The marginal man, he said, "is an incidental product of a process of acculturation, such as inevitably ensues when people of different cultures and different races come together to carry on a common life." He further elaborated on such individuals:

> It is characteristic of marginal types that they are able to look with a certain degree of critical detachment upon the diverse worlds of their parents. At the same time they are likely to feel themselves not quite at home in either.*
>
> Ordinarily, the marginal man is a mixed blood, like the Mulatto in the United States or the Eurasian in Asia, but that is apparently because the man of mixed blood is one who lives in two worlds, in both of which he is more or less a stranger. The Christian convert in Asia or in Africa exhibits many, if not most of the characteristics of the marginal man--the same spiritual instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness, and malaise.
>
> It is in the mind of the marginal man that the moral turmoil which new cultural contacts occasion manifests itself in the most obvious forms. It is in the mind of the marginal man--where the changes and fusions of culture are going on--that we can best study the process of civilization and progress.**

While doing field research for this study two respondents in the Indian sample turned up to fit very well Park's characterization of the marginal man. The following

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*Robert E. Park, Race and Culture, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950), p. 111.

**Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in Robert E. Park on Social Control and Collective Behavior, selected papers edited by Ralph H. Turner, (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1967), p. 206.

few paragraphs are extracted from field notes I took immediately after one of the interviews.

Background variables: female, 30-40 years old, 8 years of school, her husband works on the reservation with an income between $3,000 and $4,999 per year. This woman is both physically and socially mid-way between Indian and white, and, therefore, suffers the estrangement of both groups. She is quite literally a woman without a group. Even where she lives reflects her position, i.e., at the very end of the point slightly isolated from the rest of the homes.

Her husband is French Canadian; she is part Indian. Her husband "works every day in the woods" she told me, implying that this fact made him somewhat different from her neighbors' husbands. There are seven children in the family; a family which lives on an average of ninety dollars weekly with no other assistance. Because she is married to a French Canadian she is not eligible for the various aids given to other Indians. "My milk bill is seventeen dollars every two weeks and I have $600 due in doctor's bills."

She said, "I can't understand why these Indians don't like French Canadians, but they just don't. . . . . My husband works with two of them on the Township and they give him a very hard time. They cut pulp, and while they're working they tell him he ought to get out---that he doesn't belong here---that they don't like him being around. The Woodland Mill has agreed to put up money so he can buy a timber-jack and

work for them. . . . We'd like to move away, but we don't know where he could get work--and with a large family. . ."

Her observations, in light of her social situation, were very revealing. They include statements like the following:

> Of course, I'm already married to a French Canadian; but I think my children are better off if they marry someone else than Indians.
>
> Once, while I was in a restaurant in Calais a bunch of whites knew I was Indian and started calling me names. Things are better here in Princeton, but you know Indians hurt easily. That's just how they are--they don't like to be called names.
>
> Indians don't get treated very well around here. That's probably why they're mean to other people. Indians are always called names like 'pigs', and 'crazy', and other things.
>
> You know these Indians hate whites. They're always talking about them. (She refused to elaborate.)

The other respondent was the first's sister. She was 30-40 years old, had 8 years of school, her husband is a construction worker who earns over $7,000 per year. She too lived at the end of the Point, slightly separated from the other clustered homes. Her unique, ambivalent situation was highlighted when she was asked about the future for Indians in the area. She responded: "I don't know as a group. -- I've got a good future. I married a white man. He works steady. He goes where there's work and he always takes me with him."

In contrast, when asked whether Indians should stay on the Township, she replied: "Yes. Indians should always stay together on the Township."

In spite of this, at several times during the interview she emphasized her special situation saying, "I don't get no help from these Indians."

Yet, when asked if she might be moving off the reservation, she said that she and her husband had a nice home where they were and she'd just as soon stay where she knew the people well.

Marginality, as I see it, is as much a particular set of values, attitudes, and world view by the marginal man as it is a set of objective characteristics such as physical isolation, a bi-racial background, or a bi-racial conjugal family. The values, attitudes, and world-views projected by these two respondents--to a large degree in elusive, highly ephemeral ways--were quite unlike any others I came across in either the Indian or white populations.

# APPENDIX IV

## The Research Instruments

1. Interview Schedule and Interview Observation Schedule
   a. white
   b. Indian
2. Contact Observation Schedule

WHITE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

LOCATION_____

DATE_____

TIME_____

"Hello, my name is _____. I'm helping to conduct a poll in this area to see what people like yourself think about different groups of people. I wonder if you'd be willing to answer a few questions for me? You need not give me your name, and any questions you feel you don't want to answer you certainly don't have to."

Refusal prior to this interview _____

Perceived SES

INTERVIEWER "I'm going to spread in front of you six cards with the name of a group on each. Please put the cards in the order which you think best represents how well off each group is.

"In other words, the group of people which you think has the most money and influence will be on top. The others will follow in order. It is your opinion that matters. There is no RIGHT or WRONG order."

_____Americans

_____French Canadians

_____Indians

_____Jews

_____Negroes

_____Orientals (Japanese and Chinese)

Interviewer Instructions

Note above the order in which the respondent places the cards. If the respondent is having trouble reading the cards, help him by reading the cards to him -- emphasize that he should put them in order according to the criteria above.

Be sure the cards are shuffled randomly before you spread them before the respondent!

Note any relevant observations or comments made during this portion of the interview below.

Attitudes of Preference

Interviewer: "The next few questions are to see how people feel about various groups in America.

"I'm going to give you another card with the names of six groups on it. I'll then ask you some questions about the groups. Your personal opinions are important."

Note: Be sure to take the top card in your pile to be given to the respondent.

Place the card you used for this interview on the bottom of the pile.

| | 1<br>Marry?<br>1 | 2<br>Close Friend?<br>2 | 3<br>Next door Neighbor<br>3 | 4<br>Work with?<br>4 | 5<br>Only Speak to?<br>5 | 6<br>Only Visitors?<br>6 | 7<br>Not Allow in Country<br>7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AMERICANS (U.S. WHITE) | | | | | | | |
| FRENCH CANADIANS | | | | | | | |
| INDIANS (AMERICAN) | | | | | | | |
| JEWS | | | | | | | |
| NEGROES | | | | | | | |
| ORIENTALS (JAPANESE & CHINESE) | | | | | | | |

Hand the respondent one of the cards with the names of the six groups on it. Ask him the following questions:

1) Which of these groups would you marry into or approve of your children marrying into? (If there are literacy problems, help by asking the question with regard to each group in the order they appear on the card.)

2) From which of the groups would you be willing to have a close friend?

3) Who would you have as a next door neighbor?

4) Which groups would you work with at your work?

5) Are there any groups you would only speak to when necessary?

6) Which would you only allow as visitors to your country?

7) Which groups would you not allow in your country?

Check the boxes of the scale according to the respondent's replies to each question.

Contact

(1) Do you or your husband (wife) work with members of any group of people other than your own? Yes _____

Groups: 1. _____ ( ) 3. _____ ( ) No _____

2. _____ ( ) 4. _____ ( )

(2) Do your children go to school with members of any other groups?

Groups: 1. _____ ( ) 3. _____ ( ) Yes _____

2. _____ ( ) 4. _____ ( ) No _____

(3) Are all of your neighbors white Americans? Yes _____

Groups: 1. _____ ( ) 3. _____ ( ) No _____

2. _____ ( ) 4. _____ ( )

(4) Has there been any inter-marriage between members of your family and members of other groups? Yes _____

Groups: 1. _____ ( ) 3. _____ ( ) No _____

2. _____ ( ) 4. _____ ( )

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS

1. Ask respondent question.
2. If answer is No, go on to the next question.
   If answer is Yes:
3. Ask respondent: "Which groups?" -- List them in the order given in the spaces provided.
4. Finally ask: "How do you get along with X group (or individuals) at work?", for example.
   Get respondent to answer in terms of:
   1. Get along favorably
   2. Get along "so-so", or "not good--not bad"
   3. Get along poorly
   Code the response in the parentheses provdied.

Stereotyping

(5) How would you describe Indians in general? In other words,

what are they like? (Don't know personally) _____

(6) How would you describe French Canadians?

(Don't know personally) _____

(7) What are Negroes like in general? How would you describe them?

(Don't know personally) _____

(8) Do you know any Jewish people? What are they like? Do you think

most are like that? (Don't know personally) _____

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS

The key here is to probe in depth. Try to get from respondent the picture he has of the three groups above. Follow up questions to be used when appropriate in probing include:

"Do you think they are like that just around here or all over?"

"Even though you don't know any _____, what do you know from what you've read or heard about them?"

Self Image

(9) How do you think whites have been treated around here in the past by Indians? (Make note of and pursue any particular incidents)

(9a) How do you think your group reacted to and has handled this (good, bad, or indifferent) situation?

(10) How do you think whites are doing in this area today?

(11) What do you think about the future for whites in this area? Is it good or bad? Why do you think this way?

General policy opinion

(12) Do you think Indians should remain together in a Township?

Yes _____

No _____

(12a) Why should (or shouldn't) they stay in the Twonship?

(12b) How do you think whites in general have treated the Indians? How are the Indians being treated by whites today?

(13) Do you think Indians should receive more government aid in education, health, job training and so on? Yes _____

No _____

Elaboration if given spontaneously.

(14) Do you think white people should receive this kind of aid in education, health, job training and so on?

Yes _____

No _____

Elaboration if given spontaneously.

(15) What do you think can be done to improve white and Indian relations in this area? (Probe)

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS: Do not ask specifically for elaboration on questions (12) and (13), but if the respondent offers elaboration spontaneously note the discussion. Use the blank sheet at the back of the interview schedule if necessary.

Biographical Data

(16) Occupation (if housewife, husband's occupation). _____

(17) How many people in your family are now living in your house? ____

(18) Religion. _____

(19) Education: Highest grade completed. _____

(20) Income.

"I am going to give you a card with incomes on it. Please point to the letter which comes closest to your family's total income this year."

____a. 0-499 dollars

____b. 500-999 dollars

____c. 1000-1999 dollars

____d. 2000-3999 dollars

____e. 3000-4999 dollars

____f. 5000-6999 dollars

____g. 7000-9999 dollars

____h. 10,000 dollars or over.

(20a) Ascertain who contributes to family income and amount each individual contributes.

(21) Age (interviewer's estimate)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15 or under | ( ) | 30-40 | ( ) |
| 16-20 | ( ) | 40-60 | ( ) |
| 21-30 | ( ) | over 60 | ( ) |

(22) Sex. Male _____ Female _____

(23) Illiterate. _____: Comments.



(Continue on blank pages if necessary.)

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

____ House -- approximate number of rooms

| Yes | No | Undetermined | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Telephone |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | T.V. |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Radio |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Rugs on floors |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Bookcase with books |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Phonograph |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Refrigerator (electric) |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Icebox |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Wood stove |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Modern stove |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Wood heat |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Modern heat |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Religious artifacts: Type _____ |

Additional comments: (General conditions)

INSTRUCTIONS: Check the appropriate spaces immediately after you have left the respondent following the interview. If the interview was not conducted in the respondent's home, explain the interview situation in the space above.

INDIAN INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

LOCATION_____ DATE_____

TIME_____

"Hello, my name is _____. I'm a graduate student at the University of New Hampshire working on a thesis for my Master's degree. The study is about what people like yourself think about different groups of people. I wonder if you'd be willing to help by answering a few questions for me? You need not give me your name, and any questions you feel you don't want to answer you certainly don't have to."

Refusals prior to this interview_____

Perceived SES

INTERVIEWER "I'm going to spread in front of you six cards with the name of a group on each. Please put the cards in the order which you think best represents how well off each group is.

"In other words, the group of people which you think has the most money and influence will be on top. The others will follow in order. It is your opinion that matters. There is no RIGHT or WRONG order."

_____Americans

_____French Canadians

_____Indians

_____Jews

_____Negroes

_____Orientals (Japanese and Chinese)

Interviewer Instructions

Note above the order in which the respondent places the cards. If the respondent is having trouble reading the cards, help him by reading the cards to him -- emphasize that he should put them in order according to the criteria above.

Be sure the cards are shuffled randomly before you spread them before the respondent!

Note any relevant observations or comments made during this portion of the interview below.

Attitudes of Preference

Interviewer: "The next few questions are to see how people feel about various groups in America.

"I'm going to give you another card with the names of six groups on it. I'll then ask you some questions about the groups. Your personal opinions are important."

Note: Be sure to take the top card in your pile to be given to the respondent.

Place the card you used for this interview on the bottom of the pile.

| | 1<br>Marry?<br>1 | 2<br>Close Friend?<br>2 | 3<br>Next door Neighbor<br>3 | 4<br>Work with?<br>4 | 5<br>Only Speak to?<br>5 | 6<br>Only Visitors?<br>6 | 7<br>Not Allow in Country<br>7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AMERICANS (U.S. WHITE) | | | | | | | |
| FRENCH CANADIANS | | | | | | | |
| INDIANS (AMERICAN) | | | | | | | |
| JEWS | | | | | | | |
| NEGROES | | | | | | | |
| ORIENTALS (JAPANESE & CHINESE) | | | | | | | |

Hand the respondent one of the cards with the names of the six groups on it. Ask him the following questions:

1) Which of these groups would you marry into or approve of your children marrying into? (If there are literacy problems, help by asking the question with regard to each group in the order they appear on the card.)

2) From which of the groups would you be willing to have a close friend?

3) Who would you have as a next door neighbor?

4) Which groups would you work with at your work?

5) Are there any groups you would only speak to when necessary?

6) Which would you only allow as visitors to your country?

7) Which groups would you not allow in your country?

Check the boxes of the scale according to the respondent's replies to each question.

Contact

(1) Do you or your husband (wife) work with members of any group of people other than American Indians? Yes _____

Groups: 1. _____ ( ) 3. _____ ( ) No _____

2. _____ ( ) 4. _____ ( )

(2) Do your children go to school with members of any other groups?

Groups: 1. _____ ( ) 3. _____ ( ) Yes _____

2. _____ ( ) 4. _____ ( ) No _____

(3) Are all of your neighbors Indians? Yes _____

Groups: 1. _____ ( ) 3. _____ ( ) No _____

2. _____ ( ) 4. _____ ( )

(4) Has there been any inter-marriage between members of your family and members of other groups? Yes _____

Groups: 1. _____ ( ) 3. _____ ( ) No _____

2. _____ ( ) 4. _____ ( )

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS

1. Ask respondent question.
2. If answer is No, go on to the next question.
   If answer is Yes:
3. Ask respondent: "Which groups?" -- List them in the order given in the spaces provided.
4. Finally ask: "How do you get along with X group (or individuals) at work?", for example.
   Get respondent to answer in terms of:
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Stereotyping

(5) How would you describe white Americans in general? In other words, what are they like? (Don't know personally) _____

(6) How would you describe French Canadians? (Don't know personally) _____

(7) What are Negroes like in general? How would you describe them? (Don't know personally) _____

(8) Do you know any Jewish people? What are they like? Do you think most are like that? (Don't know personally) _____

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS

The key here is to probe in depth. Try to get from the respondent the picture he has of the three groups above. Follow up questions to be used when appropriate in probing include:

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"Even though you don't know any _____, what do you know from what you've read or heard about them?"

Self Image

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(Make note of and pursue any particular incidents)

(9a) How do you think your group reacted to and has handled this (good, bad, or indifferent) situation?

(10) How do you think Indians are doing in this area today?

(11) What do you think about the future for Indians in this area? Is it good or bad? Why do you think this way.

General policy opinion

(12) Do you think Indians should remain together in a Township?

Yes _____

No _____

(12a) Why should ( or shouldn't) they stay in the Township?

(13) Do you think Indians should receive more government aid in education, health, job training and so on? Yes _____

No _____

Elaboration if given spontaneiously.

(14) Do you think white people should receive this kind of aid in education, health, job training and so on? Yes _____

No _____

, Elaboration if given spontaneously.

(15) What do you think can be done to improve white and Indian relations in this area? (Probe)

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS: Do not ask specifically for elaboration on questions (12) and (13), but if the respondent offers elaboration spontaneously note the discussion. Use the blank sheet at the back of the interview schedule if necessary.

Biographical Data

(16) Occupation (if housewife, husband's occupation). _____

(17) How many people in your family are now living in your house? ____

(18) Religion. _____

(19) Education: Highest grade completed. _____

(20) Income.

"I am going to give you a card with incomes on it. Please point to the letter which comes closest to your family's total income this year."

____a. 0-499 dollars

____b. 500-999 dollars

____c. 1000-1999 dollars

____d. 2000-3999 dollars

____e. 3000-4999 dollars

____f. 5000-6999 dollars

____g. 7000-9999 dollars

____h. 10,000 dollars or over.

(20a) Ascertain who contributes to family income and amount each individual contributes.

(21) Age (interviewer's estimate)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15 or under | ( ) | 30-40 | ( ) |
| 16-20 | ( ) | 40-60 | ( ) |
| 21-30 | ( ) | over 60 | ( ) |

(22) Sex. Male _____ Female _____

(23) Illiterate. _____: Comments.



(Continue on blank pages if necessary.)

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

____ House ;- approximate number of rooms

| Yes | No | Undetermined | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Telephone |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | T.V. |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Radio |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Rugs on floors |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Bookcase.with books |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Phonograph |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Refrigerator (electric) |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Icebox |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Wood stove |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Modern stove |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Wood heat |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Modern heat |
| ___ | ___ | ___..... | Religious artifacts: Type _____ |

Additional comments: (General conditions)

INSTRUCTIONS Check the appropriate spaces immediately after you have left the respondent following the interview. If the interview was not conducted in the respondent's home, explain the interview situation in the space above.

Contact Observation Schedule

Date _____ Time: From _____ to _____ Initials _____

Place _____

Address _____

What was the occasion? (e.g., Was it a meeting? A social contact? A contact with a storekeeper? Or, what?)

_____

_____

Who were the Indian participants?

No.

Name _____ Role _____

Name _____ Role _____

Name _____ Role _____

Who were the white participants?

Name _____ Role _____

Name _____ Role _____

Name _____ Role _____

What happened? (Use back of sheet if necessary)

Approximate time

|

|

|

Physical Attributes

Number the participants listed on the first page in the margin on the left. Place the participant's number beside the adjectives describing him.

Dress

_____expensive, well-groomed
_____average
_____shabby, inexpensive
_____: _____

Speech and Social Graces

_____very refined
_____average
_____unrefined
_____difficulty incommunicating and understanding English.
_____:_____

What stands out especially in your mind?

What seemed most awkward or unusual (if anything)?

What stands out most in your impressions of the individuals involved?

Remember the following:

TRY TO GET DOWN DIRECT QUOTATIONS WITH TONE IN WHICH THEY WERE SAID e.g., "patronizingly, authoritatively, condescendingly, angrily, etc."

A FEW RELEVANT DETAILS ARE WORTH A CARLOAD OF GENERAL IMPRESSION!